THE NEW REPUBLIC

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Deadlock in Spain

Stiffening Loyalist resistance has checked General Valino at the gates of Tortosa; again we see an example of the inability of Italian infantry to gain ground when sturdily confronted, a sardonic commentary on Mussolini's boastings of two weeks ago. But Franco, taking full advantage of his superior mobility, has struck to the southward in another turning movement, and has taken San Mateo on the road to the seaport of Vinaroz; a new drive is developing from Teruel toward Sagunto. Meanwhile, in Catalonia, the power-plant at Tremp is in General Moscardo's hands, and Moscardo is pushing on to close the French frontier passes; while Yague's Moors and Navarrese have stormed Balaguer, northern pivot of the Loyalist defense line covering the Barcelona road. Loyalist counter-offensives in central Spain have bogged down. In Barcelona itself we hear of hastily recruited men rushed to the front in thousands, with but a few hours' training. These are the counsels of despair; such men are cannon fodder in the most horrible sense of the word. The one faintly hopeful note is the reported appearance of new Loyalist aircraft.

Who Maintains the Spanish Embargo?

Who is keeping the American embargo in effect against the Spanish Loyalists, contrary to international precedent and every dictate of justice? According to Drew Pearson and Robert Allen, authors of the widely circulated column, "Daily Washington Merry-Go-Round," it is a little group of career men in our State Department. According to these authors, President Roosevelt and Secretary Hull now favor raising the embargo. So does Breckinridge Long, former Assistant Secretary of State and Ambassador to Italy, who has interested himself actively in the matter. So do such important Senators as Pittman, Borah, Nye, Clark, Thomas and King. The story is too complicated to be recited in full, but Pearson and Allen charge persistent sabotage by Green Hackworth, James Dunn, Pierrepont Moffat and Judge Walton Moore of the State Department, some of whom, at least, are strongly pro-Franco. They report that the matter will be taken out of the hands of the career men and decided by the President's Cabinet. This, if true, is news of the highest importance. The only reason for Franco's recent military advantage has been that he has had ample arms, supplied by Germany and Italy, while the Loyalists, betrayed by the powers and by Great Britain in particular, have been reduced to fighting almost with their bare hands. It is not yet too late for the United States to end an embargo that is operating against our interests and those of all the democratic nations.

Japan's Troubles Increase

On the Grand Canal the Chinese have gained a clear-cut local victory in retaking Taierhchwang; the remnants of two Japanese divisions are still holding out in Yihsien, and their eventual fate depends on whether the Chinese can hold tight the strings of the bag in face of increasing Japanese pressure both in the

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Chinese right (from Tsingtao) and coming directly down the Tientsin-Pukow railway from Tsinan. The military lesson of this battle is the helplessness of a force dependent on mechanized and motorized weapons and transportation once its supply-lines are seriously interfered with.

The Chinese threat to Tsinan and the Yellow River bridge appears to have been averted by the southward thrust of Japanese reinforcements. What is interesting here is that the Chinese success in Shantung has apparently compelled the Japanese to withdraw some of their best troops and equipment from Manchukuo at the very moment when diplomatic tension with Soviet Russia is increasing. Bellicose statements on both sides are not lacking; a Japanese Foreign Office "spokesman" remarks: "If Russia cares to aggravate the situation we will not hesitate to respond," while Tokyo papers report Marshal Galen-Blucher as stating: "Now is the time to fight Japan." From the cold-blooded point of view of Russian security and national strategy, there can be little doubt that Blucher is right.

Vote Yes—Or Else!

Hitler's plebiscite in Austria, in which nearly all the voters were for *Anschluss*, will convince nobody that the citizens of that country would have welcomed his rule if they had been consulted in advance. Perhaps the best proof of this is the fact that Hitler's sudden and forceful seizure of Austrian power was obviously undertaken to prevent Schuschnigg's plebiscite. Why then; the sudden shift in the voters' choice? In the first place, there is no real assurance of an honest count. In the second, Jews were disfranchised and the opposition leaders safely in concentration camps. More important still, the electorate were faced with an accomplished fact, which no ballot could undo. To protest either by staying home or voting no was to run the risk of death, torture or persecution. Add the fact that all the arts of propaganda, monopolized by the German conquerors, had been turned on full blast for days in advance. And finally, remember that after the War a majority of Austrians probably were in favor of the union, and had been alienated mainly by Hitler's regime itself. But now, since he had won in fact, they thought they were merely taking part in an inevitable historic process. We predict that they will live to regret that they had not protested, even by futile ballots.

Richard Whitney Goes to Jail

Richard Whitney has been sentenced to five to ten years in Sing Sing, which means in fact, three years and four months. It is an extremely light sentence in view of the large sums he embezzled over a long period of time; it is easy to imagine how much more serious his punishment might have been if he were some poor devil of a cashier. However, we would not appear vindictive toward Mr. Whitney; no doubt the degradation he has already experienced has caused him acute suffering. What we would emphasize now is that his case is not closed, has indeed only begun. From first to last, there has thus far been a conspiracy of many—though not all—of those officially concerned with this affair, a conspiracy to hush it up, to get it forgotten, to center all blame on Richard Whitney alone. Now the Securities and Exchange Commission has begun its public hearings, the most important task it has ever had. Others concerned in the various inquiries have pleaded limitations on their powers, or have stepped aside for the SEC. The job must now be done, and done so thoroughly that no doubt is left.

It is not enough, for example, to tell us only that J. P. Morgan had "no suggestions to offer" when told that the crash was coming. It was largely if not entirely because of a close relationship to the Morgan firm that Richard Whitney rose to power. Morgan partners knew as far back as 1931 of what District Attorney Dewey describes as an impropriety of Richard Whitney as a bank director. They knew by 1936 that the condition of his firm was "unwholesome." A partner of J. P. Morgan knew by November, 1937, that Whitney had embezzled Stock Exchange property. These partners, the Stock Exchange leaders who had ample ground for suspicion and did nothing, the insiders who saved some of their own funds while keeping Whitney's troubles secret, should all take the witness chair. We have had enough of half truths, conspicuous silence and the policy of hush hush.

The NLRB and the Steel Companies

Decisions by the National Labor Relations Board in the cases of Inland Steel and Republic Steel made last week a particularly memorable period in labor's history. In the first of these decisions the Board held that an employer must be willing to sign the written contract of terms reached through collective bargaining with the employees' representatives; that the Inland Steel Company's assertion of unwillingness to do so constituted a violation of the Labor Relations Act. "The reduction of collective-bargaining agreements to writing," the decision said, "has become an integral element of the collective-bargaining process. . . . The respondent can advance no reasons for refusing to conform to such practice except those solely anti-union in character." The Board also ordered Inland Steel to stop recognizing the company union, the Steel Workers' Independent Union, as their employees' representative and to bargain with the Steel Workers' Organizing Committee. The second Board decision, a stunning blow to the forces which Tom Girdler represents, held the Republic Steel Corporation guilty of violating the Wagner Act during the strike in July and responsible for the murder of the three strikers who died at Massillon, Ohio. It ordered the company to stop interfering with the self-organization of its

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employees, to scrap its management-controlled plans for "employee representation" and to reinstate all of the 5,000-odd workers who went on strike as well as those dismissed shortly before the strike for their union activities. The Board is to be congratulated for the deft way in which it pierced through the maze of technicalities raised by Tom Girdler and his associates to sidetrack the basic issue. In both cases it came right to the point of how the steel companies had worked to prevent the organization of their workers into effective unions. We can be sure that these decisions will meet the most bitter opposition from the men who hope to crush the labor movement at any cost.

Putting Snoopers in the Schools

The American Education Association is an innocent name for what sounds to us like a far from innocent organization. This new group is now at work in New York City on the job of rooting out "radical activities" among teachers in the public-school system. The quality of its thinking may be judged from remarks greeted with approval by its members at a recent meeting: that John Dewey's educational ideas were responsible for atheism in Russia; that the "activities curriculum" of progressive education leads to "disregard of religion"; that the National Education Association is under Communist dictation. The AEA, which smells of Tammany all over, proposes to create a network of snoopers throughout the New York public schools. It will gather evidence by asking the children what the teachers have said (one can imagine how reliable that testimony will be!). There is the best of reason to believe that this organization, like the similar groupings set up by the Catholic Church, with which it seems to have such a strong affinity, will label as Communist every variety of liberalism, however mild, and will seek to terrorize the city's teachers into being deaf, blind and dumb to everything except complete reaction.

Keeping Up the Fight on Labor Spies

No better or more necessary job has been done in Washington during the past two years than the monumental investigation of labor espionage by the Senate Committee on Civil Liberties under the chairmanship of Senator La Follette. The question now is, what next? Will the committee have sufficient funds to continue? Will adequate remedial legislation be proposed and passed? Above all, will the rank and file and officials of organized labor make sufficiently good use of the information they have received? In an effort to help in answering such questions, a group of unions in New York, in industries where employers had been guilty of espionage, recently called a conference to consider the subject. Seventy-two unions, both CIO and A. F. of L., sent delegates, representing about 330,000 members. The meeting heard from such experts as Richard Frankensteen, vice-president of the United Auto Workers, Edward Levinson, author of "I Break Strikes," and Leo Huberman, author of "The Labor Spy Racket." It formed a strong continuation committee to elicit the interest of other unions and carry on educational and research work. Mr. Frankensteen made a good point when he said that the best cure for labor espionage was labor organization.

Nazi Terror in Austria

Rigid as the censorship of news from Austria has become, we are getting some reports of the brutal terror that reigns in the country famed for its civilized gayety. One of the best accounts is by G. E. R. Gedye, Central European correspondent for The New York Times, who has been expelled from Vienna by order of the Nazi invaders. He puts the figure for political arrests in Vienna alone at more than 34,000 and describes the shameful and humiliating ways in which the prisoners are treated and the foulness of the overcrowded jails. Several of the reports corroborate the suspicion that many of us have held: that some of the astounding numbers of "suicides" were in reality cold-blooded murders by the Nazi storm troopers. Worst of all is the treatment of the Austrian Jews, who are forced to remain in the country and then tortured because of being there. Their fate is even worse than that of the Jews in Germany, where the persecutions were spread over a period of several years; in Austria, the full force of the sadistic Nazi attack has come overnight and the Jewish population has been deprived of its property, denied police protection of any sort and banned from employment and from sources of relief. Small wonder that the German press chiefs suppress the facts about the annexation of Austria.

Do Storks Bring Children?

Not long ago we commented adversely on the censorship of a film, "The Birth of a Baby," which had been produced under the sponsorship of the American Medical Association, the American College of Surgeons, the United States Public Health Association, the American Hospital Association and twelve other organizations of high standing. Life, the picture magazine, took advantage of this senseless suppression by printing "stills" from the film, and in consequence has been barred from the newsstands by local authorities in numerous cities. These pictures could be called obscene or dangerous to morals only by a person with a perverted attitude toward life. They are dignified and scientific. If any criticism is to be made of them, it is that they tend to prettify the process of childbirth in order to avoid shocking the sensibilities of the more sensitive. After all, children are born every day. Since knowledge is the prerequisite to taking the proper precautions, why should we refuse to know about maternity? Perhaps Life should have had instead a double-page spread of storks.

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The N. R., Chamberlain and Browder

In the April 5 issue of The New Masses, a comment by Earl Browder, Secretary of the Communist Party, U.S.A., charges that The New Republic "has gone over openly to the Chamberlain line (March 30 issue) by advocating rapprochement with Hitler without political conditions." Asked what was meant by this charge, The New Masses cited the article entitled "Toward Economic Appeasement," which advocated the pushing of Secretary Hull's policy of reciprocal trade treaties, and incidentally asked in a paragraph or two whether such a treaty might not be made with Germany, in spite of political objections. This, of course, is not the Chamberlain line, which is concerned rather with general political assent to Fascist aggression. Britain has long had a trade treaty with Germany, as has France. Indeed, the Soviet Union itself has trade treaties with both Germany and Italy, and has had large and profitable dealings with them since they have been under Fascist dictatorship. Either you trade with a nation or you don't; a treaty encouraging trade is the normal process as long as trade relations are maintained. We are not convinced that a reciprocal treaty ought to be made—this tentative suggestion was perhaps the least important point in the whole thirty-two-page supplement. The fact that it was lifted out of its context, with no mention of the rest of the program, and was untruthfully labeled "the Chamberlain line" is an example of controversial tactics that won't make friends for the Communist party-line.

The Boycott Hits Japan

The Japanese themselves are now admitting the effectiveness of the worldwide consumer boycott on their goods. The Committee for a Boycott Against Japanese Aggression has sent us a copy of an article which appeared in The Japan Chronicle, a newspaper published in Kobe, about the sharp drop in Japanese exports for the first two months of 1938. The official government figures show that exports held up steadily for the first five or six months of the war, but beginning with the middle of November they began to fall off until at present there is an average loss of 20 percent over last year, with a probable further decline during the coming weeks. Part of the blame for the decrease, the article explains, is attributable to the increase of prices of Japanese goods, but only a minor part. Silk, for example, is slightly cheaper than last year, yet the silk trade showed a 36-percent drop between December 1 and January 31. The Chronicle concludes:

> It is very difficult indeed to assess the exact part this boycott is playing in the disruption of Japan's export trade, but that it is the main cause and that prices are only a secondary factor appears indisputable.

Other factors which may account for part of the decrease are the widespread depression, particularly in the United States, and the restriction Japan herself has placed upon trade, either to protect her currency or to economize on ships. But whatever the force of these other influences may be, it is altogether probable that the consumers' boycott, as an expression of opposition to Japan's aggression in China, is having a telling effect.

Common Sense and a Communist Alien

A real blow for liberty was struck the other day in Louisiana. The Fifth Circuit Court of Appeals, in a decision written by Judge Joseph C. Hutcheson, has ruled that "membership in the Communist Party of America, standing alone, is not sufficient to warrant deportation." An order issued against Joseph Strecker was reversed. Judge Hutcheson, pointing out that the law requiring expulsion of alien members of parties advocating violent overthrow of government dated back to the post-war Red scare, observed that "much water, socially and politically, has gone under the bridge since 1920." There was no evidence in court that the Communist Party does in fact advocate violent revolution, and everyone knows that at present it does not. There was no evidence that Strecker believed in such violence. If the decision is allowed to stand, it will mark a forward step toward political liberty and affect many pending cases.

News Notes of a Week

Britain moved to force the League of Nations to recognize Italy's conquest of Ethiopia; this action had been expected, as part of the new agreement between Chamberlain and Mussolini. . . . Britain, not hampered by any requirement of a "Good Neighbor" doctrine, firmly demanded that Mexico restore the expropriated British oil properties. . . . What seemed an important clue to the temper of the British public came when the Labor Party won a by-election in West Fulham, London, by 16,583 votes to 15,162. West Fulham is not a typical labor area; in 1935 the Conservatives carried it by 3,483 votes. . . . Orders issued in Moscow increase the authority of the political commissars in the Red Army, a move interpreted by foreign observers as an effort to ensure the loyalty of the rank and file.

In the United States, there were indications that President Roosevelt planned to strike back vigorously at opponents of his policies. . . . The critical situation of the railroads was handed over by the President to Congress without any definite recommendations of his own. . . . The Senate passed its own tax bill, providing that future federal bonds shall be subject to tax. The tax on undistributed profits was repealed in the Senate version, which then went to conference between the two Houses. . . . The Metropolitan Life Insurance Company announced a huge plan for a housing de-

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velopment in the Bronx, New York City. . . . Against the wishes of Great Britain and France, the United States continued to move toward battleships about 10,000 tons larger than the present top limit.

Whose Recovery?

THE MEANING of the defeat of the Reorganization bill in the House of Representatives was emblazoned as in Neon lights by the fact that the New York Stock Exchange responded the next morning with a rush of buying orders in large lots that sent prices up five and six points in a few hours. Of course the Reorganization bill, whether passed or rejected, could not conceivably have had any direct effect on business conditions or the Exchange itself. Whatever indirect effect its defeat might rationally have had ought to have been bearish, since it would have improved the efficiency of government—and what is more often the subject of attack by business than governmental inefficiency and bureaucracy? The Exchange reaction was all the more significant because it had nothing to do with the contents of the bill itself. The speculators correctly interpreted the event, not in terms of specific details, but in terms of large political symbolism. The President had been defeated on a major issue by the Congress of his own party. That made men with money feel better.

Two other reasons might be attributed for the sudden recovery of stocks—the action of the Senate in abandoning the surplus-profits tax and modifying the capital-gains tax, and the announcement of the President's intention to launch a big new spending program. The first, if it did contribute, was a motive of much the same nature as the Reorganization bill itself, since it is almost impossible to prove by economic facts or reasoning that either tax had much to do with the current depression. It was merely the circumstance that the upper-income classes thought and said so that influenced business attitudes. And as for the government spending program, the mere announcement of a plan by the White House is so far from an accomplished fact nowadays that it could scarcely have had an encouraging influence. The financial centers themselves are traditionally opposed to government spending, and the very same forces that defeated Reorganization are now turning their fire on the new spending program. It is difficult to believe that Wall Street would feel bullish about anything that could actually make the country richer.

Wall Street does not trim its sails to economic winds, but rather to wild rumors and political prejudice. If a piece of legislation, whether defeated or passed, were to influence the Street on purely economic grounds, stocks ought to have risen at the time of the passage of the bill to encourage private housing construction or, if not then, on observation of its consequences. For the only unquestionably favorable indication on the economic charts at present is that contracts for housing construction are running about twice as large as a year ago. But class feeling is more powerful than reason in dictating the activities of those with access to money in large quantities.

What is the real strategy of those who have maintained that the President was responsible for the depression, and who are now jubilating because the revolt of Congress has apparently broken his power and prestige? They are concerned little or not at all with avoiding depression or establishing the economy of the nation on a basis that will be sounder for the general welfare. They are concerned primarily with their own power, prestige and security. They have, in the past decade, suffered a series of smashing defeats. If a popular leader who attributed to them the blame for all the disconcerting things that have happened should remain in the ascendancy, they could not sleep comfortably for years to come. But he, his doctrines and his supporters would be established if he should receive the credit for the return of anything like real prosperity.

They know that many conditions are overripe for a genuine revival. There is an undersupply of capital equipment in railroads and utilities. We have, in years of under-construction, developed a huge building shortage. Numerous inventions and technical improvements are merely awaiting favorable conditions in order to be exploited on a large scale. Various obstacles inherent in the situation—such as liquidation of old debts and mortgages—are gradually being overcome. The main requirement lacking has been the willingness of those in control of capital to risk their money. They do not want to do this as long as the man whom they regard as their enemy is in power and they continue to fear him.

But the forces making for possible revival are becoming more exigent as time passes. If too long a wait is enforced, economic disaster may succeed hard times. It is important to break the deadlock. If capital surrenders to the President, it may have a revival, but it will have lost its ability to protest, to escape taxes, to reverse the New Deal, to combat the growing power of labor. But if it can dramatically defeat the President, it may go ahead on its own steam and win a political as well as an economic victory. Tory politicians can point to the defeat of the "dictatorial" ambitions of the President, expressed in the Reorganization bill, as the beginning of good times.

For the purpose of establishing such a victory of prestige, a symbolic point of reference, nothing could be better than killing a proposal by the administration that would have no real economic effect. Defeating the Reorganization bill could not possibly retard recovery. But it can, because of the irrational enmity toward the

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President felt by those who decide whether great new projects shall be undertaken, signalize a return of "confidence." The strategists of capitalism, however, had better watch their step, lest they go too far. Only at the peril of their economic hopes can they defeat the new spending project of the administration. It may just possibly be that this time they can bring about recovery by their own power, without government aid. But if that should not turn out to be true, their temporary success would be economically as well as politically embarrassing. It is a reckless policy to try to prevent the President from gaining credit for recovery by endangering recovery itself.

The End of the Popular Front

FRANCE HAS A NEW CABINET, and the Popular Front is out of power at least for the present. The new Premier is Edouard Daladier, a veteran Radical Socialist, and his Cabinet has twelve members of that party, the remainder being from small Centrist groups. The Socialists have thus far refused to coöperate, though it is not certain they will continue in this attitude. The Communists will not coöperate and Daladier does not want them.

The new Cabinet is being presented in the press as a "government of national union," but it is not. It is very similar to the late Chautemps government, and there is no reason to assume that it will have a very long life or will be particularly effective. If Daladier goes too far to the right, the Socialists can and will turn him out; if he deals gently with the present epidemic of strikes, in order to placate the Left, he will be in trouble with the Right. The only really strong men in the new group are Daladier himself, Paul Reynaud, Minister of Justice, and Georges Mandel, Minister of Colonies.

No great change from recent French policy may be expected by the new regime. With Georges Bonnet as Minister of Foreign Affairs, the "non-intervention" which is actually intervention in Spain will be carried on. The government will be somewhat friendlier to Italy and Germany, a little cooler toward Soviet Russia. Since, however, Blum and Chautemps before him were completely under the control of Prime Minister Chamberlain, all that will be seen is some accentuation of an existing policy. The one exception to this would be if Hitler should strike soon and with open use of military force in Czechoslovakia. The financial powers in France which, in spite of everything, still remain extremely influential, were comparatively indifferent to the seizure of Austria, because they had already got their money out of that country. This is not true, however, of Czechoslovakia. French interests, for example, own a large part of the great Skoda munitions works, and would object to Hitler's taking over Czechoslovakia unless they have previously made such a firm bargain with him that he could not wriggle out.

While the Daladier government may not last, the tendency which it represents certainly will. That tendency is, in a word, for the banks and heavy industry to reassert themselves. For two years they have been fighting steadily with every means at their command to thwart the People's Front and to resume the control that had lasted so many years. The banks have an invaluable lever in the rearmament loan; by refusing to coöperate, they can blackmail almost any government. Another powerful device of theirs is to withdraw support from the franc at crucial times. Rumors are in circulation in Paris, which sound reasonable, that English capitalists have collaborated with their French confrères in withdrawing funds or selling French securities short at critical moments.

In retrospect, the history of the Popular Front begins to look a little like that of the two British Labor governments. In June, 1936, there was a magnificent opportunity to remake the French economy and to break the power of the capitalists. This opportunity was not seized. Instead, Blum embarked upon an elaborate program of social reform, at the same time seeking to balance the budget and maintain the value of the franc. These various aims were incompatible with one another. Partly because of sabotage by the wealthy and partly because the burden created was too heavy, a large part of French industry was in sober fact brought close to the edge of bankruptcy. Now, nearly two years later, the masses of the people have to a large degree become disillusioned by political defeats and by the steadily rising cost of living.

The lesson of the past two years is that you should not make half a revolution and then stop. The forces of the Left will need now to rally themselves for the struggle that will and must continue.

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The Perfidy of Albion

"THEY WANT TO DESERT US! They want to desert us!" The French ambassador in London is desperate. Russia is about to come to the defense of a small Slavic state on the Danube threatened from Vienna and Berlin. Germany is about to wage war upon Russia. France is Russia's ally. For years Downing Street has assured the Quai d'Orsay that it will support France against the Reich. Now the ambassador has just been informed by the Foreign Secretary that Britain has no commitments in Central Europe and no obligations to come to the defense of the Republic! He waits—to learn whether "honor" has been stricken from the English vocabulary.

It is not 1938, but 1914. It is August 1, the eve of the First World War. Sir Edward Grey has told Paul Cambon that his government cannot support Paris in war unless Belgium and northern France are invaded. The ambassador waits. Two days later he and his nation are saved, not by British honor but by the accident of the Schlieffen Plan by which France is to be struck down through Belgium. The British Cabinet meets and decides to aid Brussels and Paris. But four members resign in protest. Among them is Sir John Simon. Years later he becomes Foreign Secretary, to be succeeded by Sir Samuel Hoare who is succeeded by Anthony Eden who is succeeded by Lord Halifax. A quarter of a century has passed. M. Corbin is in M. Cambon's post. He also waits. And he too will one day cry out in anguish at the prospect of British desertion.

The tragedy of 1914 might have been averted had the rulers of Britain made it clear in time that they would defend Serbia, Russia and France against the Central Powers. They would not. The tragedy of 1938 might be averted if the rulers of Britain would make it clear that they will defend Czechoslovakia, the USSR and France against the Central Powers. They will not. Chamberlain and Halifax, like Asquith and Grey, hope against hope for British neutrality. But there is one difference. The Liberals of 1914 muddled into a war which was not of their making. The Tories of 1938 hope to muddle out of a war which they are doing all in their power to bring about. Now as then the tacit assumption in Downing Street is that America will rescue the Empire if worst comes to worst. The assumption was once correct. It may be correct again.

The time has come for all Americans to face without illusions the purposes and implications of the foreign policy of the Conservative Party. Anglophiles and advocates of Anglo-American coöperation (and the present writer is among them) must face the appalling fact that Tory diplomacy is deliberately aiding and abetting the instigators of the Second World War. Anglophobes and advocates of "keeping out of other people's wars" must face the appalling fact that an isolationist America is wholly without influence on British foreign policy and that, if war comes and Britain is involved and the Empire is threatened, the United States may be again bound by elementary considerations of national security to sacrifice blood and treasure to save those who are today practising the politics of disaster.

For seven years the Tory leaders of Britain's National Government have sabotaged every effort to prevent or frustrate Fascist aggression. The Tory line emerged in 1931 when ex-Liberal Sir John Simon rejected Secretary Stimson's proposal for joint pressure to check Japan in Manchuria. Lord Lytton said later (May 17, 1934): "The failure of our government to back up Mr. Stimson is perhaps the most regrettable of all its shortcomings." Lord Lothian agreed (December 12, 1934): "The mistake of British foreign policy at that time . . . was its rejection of Mr. Stimson's offer to reverse the isolationist decision of 1920 and act with us in support of the collective system in the Pacific." In 1933 Sir John deserted France and Poland when they proposed collective action to prevent German rearmament. In 1934 he opposed Barthou's plan for a collective-security pact with the USSR. In March, 1935, when Hitler openly repudiated the disarmament clauses of 1919, Sir John deserted France and Belgium. In June he struck a naval bargain with Ribbentrop to allow further German violations of the treaty. In December, 1935, Sir Samuel Hoare deserted Haile Selassie and the League of Nations in his ill fated compact with Laval to give two-thirds of Ethiopia to Mussolini. When Hitler repudiated Locarno and remilitarized the Rhineland in March, 1936, Eden deserted France and Belgium once more and dishonored Britain's obligations in the very crisis which those obligations were designed to cover.

For the past two years the record of Tory treachery is unalleviated. In June of 1936 Baldwin and Eden abandoned sanctions against Italy and reduced the Covenant to a scrap of paper. In July of 1936 they informed Blum that Britain would desert France if Paris made any move to thwart the Fascist assault on the Spanish Republic. In August they organized the London Non-Intervention Committee to prevent Madrid from purchasing arms for defense against fascism. A year later, after the Tokyo militarists had resumed their attack upon China, Chamberlain and Eden rejected all suggestions of collective pressure against Japan. In November, 1937, they wrecked the Brussels conference and accorded *de facto* recognition to Franco. On February 20, 1938, Eden retired, fatigued by Mussolini's threats and in need of a rest for new betrayals to come. Halifax carried on. On March 12, 1938, Chamberlain

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wined and dined Ribbentrop in London and abandoned Austria to Hitler. On March 24 he proclaimed in Commons that "non-intervention" in Spain must go on, that Litvinov's proposal for a conference against aggressors was unthinkable and that Britain would neither defend Czechoslovakia nor aid France to defend her.

Each of these steps was represented to the British public and to the world as necessary to preserve "peace." This contention is hypocrisy and nonsense. Equally nonsensical is the oft-repeated assertion that the Tories have been "playing for time" until Britain is heavily rearmed. British sea power at its lowest ebb was more than adequate to compel the aggressors to yield. In each instance British action would have had the full support of France, the Soviet Union and of many of the lesser powers and the partial support even of America. This combination could have frustrated each act of Fascist aggression without war. What was lacking was not power but the will to use that power against the Fascist regimes—a fact fully appreciated at all times by Hitler, Mussolini and Hirohito. Japan could have been stopped in Manchuria without war if Britain's Tories had desired to act. German rearmament could have been prevented, Ethiopia could have been protected, the Covenant could have been enforced, Locarno could have been preserved, Spain could have been rescued, Austria could have been salvaged—all without war—if Britain's Tories had desired to act. Today Czechoslovakia could be saved without war if Britain's Tories desired to act. They refuse to act because they prefer to condone and support Fascist aggression.

This purpose has never been admitted because the voters of Britain have at no time entertained any such desire. As Professor Gaetano Salvemini has recently put it, the Tories are obliged to be greater hypocrites than the reactionaries of other lands because the British public is an honest and decent public. In the arts of deception Il Duce and Der Führer are amateurs compared with MacDonald, Baldwin and Chamberlain. When he discovered from the "Peace Poll" in the summer of 1935 that the British electorate demanded economic and military sanctions against aggressors in a system of collective security, Baldwin adroitly reversed himself and became a champion of the League of Nations. Feeble sanctions were imposed upon Italy in October, not to save Ethiopia but to soothe the voters.

The Tories won an overwhelming victory in the election of November 14, 1935, with the slogans "Uphold the Covenant" and "Our Word Is Our Bond." Two weeks later the Hoare-Laval betrayal was consummated. But the technique was too crude. Seven months later Eden junked Geneva with finesse. The voters were told that the League was "impotent" and that surrender to fascism was the price of peace. In fear and befuddlement the voters believed, for to believe the absurd is the true test of faith. Even Liberals and Laborites were taken in. As for Americans, all accepted the picture which the Tory leaders so carefully painted. It was a portrait in oils of a poor but honest England under "realistic" but benevolent rulers who preferred peace to prestige and yielded to aggression with a sigh rather than plunge their people into bloodshed.

The reality behind this façade now stands forth in ugly nakedness. The camouflage has worn thin. The Tory leaders approved and supported Fascist aggression, with such gestures of protest as were needful to conceal their aims, not through stupidity or weakness or blundering but because they desire the Fascist powers to strengthen themselves for war. They welcome the breakdown of Geneva. They view with equanimity the conquest of Ethiopia, Spain, China, Austria and Czechoslovakia by the Fascist Triplice. They approve the reduction of France to immobility and complete dependence upon Britain. They are not pained but pleased that Japan should threaten Outer Mongolia, that Mussolini should menace French communications in the Mediterranean and plant the Roman eagles on the Pyrenees, that Hitler should seize control of all Danubia and Balkania, that the Berlin-Rome-Tokyo coalition should gird its loins for combat. Efforts to disguise Tory satisfaction at these developments have been rendered easy by the circumstance that actual Tory aims savor of lunacy to the uninitiated. But the Tory leaders are no lunatics.

If the Tory course be madness, there is method in it. The method was long ago hinted at by Lord Rothermere in The Daily Mail of November 28, 1933: "The sturdy young Nazis of Germany are Europe's guardians against the Communist danger. . . . Germany must have elbow room. . . . Once Germany has acquired the additional territory she needs in western Russia, her need for expansion would be satisfied, and that growing menace which at present darkens the horizon would be removed forever." Colonial Minister L. S. Amery in "The Forward View" (1935) wrote: "While it is no part of our policy to foster a quarrel between Japan and Soviet Russia, it would be no concern of ours, if such a quarrel developed into war, to prevent Japanese expansion in eastern Siberia." On April 1, 1936, The Daily Mail urged a defensive alliance with France, but an alliance "not directed against Germany . . . clear of all entanglements in eastern Europe, and leaving Germany a free hand there against Bolshevism."[1] Garvin's Observer and Astor's Times take a similar view. It is the view, albeit seldom so frankly acknowledged, of Halifax and Hoare, of Chamberlain and Simon, of Lady Astor and the "Cliveden group." It is the only view that renders intelligible the whole course of British policy since 1931.

Here is no "British plot." Here is nothing resembling weakness or stupidity on the part of the aristoc-

[1] For these and other revealing excerpts from British reactionary sources, see E. Palme Dutt's "World Politics 1918-1936," Random House, 1936.

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racy and plutocracy of England. Here is simply "realism" with a vengeance. Despite his feigned horror at *Anschluss*, Halifax has read "Mein Kampf." In foreign affairs Hitler is under no compulsion to be a hypocrite. French editors may need to be bribed to defend Nazi aims, but Britain's Tories can be counted upon to support them gratis. At Nürnberg in September, 1936, Hitler bellowed: "If I had the Ural Mountains with their incalculable stores of treasures in raw materials, Siberia with its vast forests and the Ukraine with its tremendous wheat fields, Germany would swim in plenty." Hitler's long-time program, from which he has never deviated, is alliance with Italy, neutralization of Britain, annexation of Austria, partition of Czechoslovakia, *Drang nach Südosten* and the armed conquest of Russia—to be followed or perhaps preceded by the "annihilation" of France. The Tories will balk at the last point. Hitler will yield it if he must. It is enough for the present to render France helpless and destroy her alliances east of the Rhine.

The Tory calculus is simple. The Second World War will be a death struggle between the Fascist powers and the USSR. The British ruling classes are more than willing to give their blessing to the Fascist Triplice in its crusade to destroy the Soviet Union, knowing that the task will be so gigantic as to keep both combatants occupied for years. Fascism threatens the Empire, but the threat will vanish if fascism's war is against Moscow. Communism threatens British feudalism and capitalism, however remotely, but the threat will vanish if the USSR must fight for its life against Japan, Germany and Italy. The war must be "localized" and kept out of Western Europe. This requires the peaceful yielding of Central and Eastern Europe to Hitler—gracefully through a four-power-pact or, if need be, disgracefully through surrender. It further requires the reduction of France to the status of a third-rate power, unable to aid Prague or Moscow against Berlin. This mission the Tories have entrusted to Mussolini and Franco. If these agents become ungratefully Anglophobe and unreasonable, Salamanca can be bought off with British capital and Rome can perhaps be placated with a French colony or two.

Meanwhile the Third Reich, certain of British neutrality, French weakness and Japanese and Italian support, will drive up the Baltic and down the Danube to attack Russia. The combat will be long and fierce. Communism and fascism may destroy one another, with England and the Empire forevermore secure. If either contestant threatens to sweep the field and menace Britannia, it is assumed in London that America will stage an eleventh-hour rescue. In any case the belligerents will be ruined and prostrate. British capital will hold the balance and later heal the wounds.

This is not a program of "muddling through." It is a program suffused with elements of genius. If its assumptions are correct, nothing could better serve the interests of the British ruling classes nor better befuddle the British masses who have been "sold" in the name of isolationism, pacifism, liberalism, anti-fascism, anti-Bolshevism and peace. That the program is utterly unscrupulous and dishonest is irrelevant. That other people's children by the thousands must be thrown to the Fascist wolves, that other mothers' sons by the tens and hundreds of thousands must suffer torture, starvation and death is immaterial. To dwell upon such unpleasantries would be "bad form." Let no one ask: Who is to be his brother's keeper? The only question for Britain's Tory leaders is: Will it work?

The question admits as yet of no answer. The program is now *in medias res*. Chamberlain has told Paris to accept Franco; he has told Hitler to take Czechoslovakia, without war if possible; he has told Hitler to take all the East and launch his crusade against Moscow. London will stand aside and threaten France with desertion if France does not also stand aside. The plan may work. On the other hand there are imponderables and incalculables. Czechoslovakia may fight, however hopelessly. This, following the agony of Spain, Austria, China and Ethiopia, may stir pacifist France to war even if British support is denied. It may even stir the imperturbable British public to belated rebellion. Combats among great powers, moreover, are localized with difficulty. In war there are no winners, but there are still victors and vanquished. Fascism victorious over Russia may smash France and the British Empire as well. Fascism defeated means social revolution in Berlin, Rome and Tokyo.

In the lives of empires as in the lives of men, some mistakes can be made only once. If the Tory plan succeeds, Eastern Europe and Asia will be harried with fire and sword and reduced to ashes, France may be destroyed, all the values of civilization on the Continent may be utterly lost, but Britannia will rule as before and America too may have its peace. If the Tory plan fails, the English-speaking world will be engulfed in unimaginable chaos and will likewise descend into the shades. In 1914 British imperialism gambled and failed and was later saved only by the United States. In 1938 British imperialism is gambling for its life, perhaps for the last time. It could have saved itself by sacrificing pride and prejudice and some small part of its power in a united democratic front against fascism. It prefers to seek salvation by sacrificing the liberty and the lives of other peoples on the altar of fascism's war against the workers and peasants of Russia and the world. It may win. Or it may lose. But win or lose it has condemned the Continent to doom. Every friend of freedom and decency and peace in England and elsewhere can only say what Sir Edward Grey said twenty-four years ago: "The lamps are going out all over Europe. . . . I feel like a man who has wasted his life."

FREDERICK L. SCHUMAN

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The Status of Birth Control: 1938

AT LAST birth control is legal in the United States. The right to provide contraceptive information and service under medical direction is finally recognized under the federal law as now interpreted, and it also is legal under state laws in all but two states, Mississippi and Massachusetts—and the Massachusetts law is vulnerable on constitutional grounds.

It is one of the anomalies of modern civilization that the forces of bigotry, reaction and legalism could so long have kept on the federal statute books a law that classed contraceptive information with obscenity and was interpreted to prevent physicians from prescribing contraceptives. Year after year this vicious law legally tied the hands of reputable physicians, while quacks and purveyors of bootleg contraceptives and "feminine hygiene" articles and formulas flourished. It was an absurd situation in which the federal law in effect nullified the laws of practically every state.

But now mothers can be told! The story of how motherhood ultimately was rescued from bondage is an absorbing one. It required two-thirds of a century to remove the federal fetters placed upon birth control by Anthony Comstock and a "reform" group which induced a timid and overawed Congress to pass the overreaching law. That famous, or rather infamous, law—Section 211 of the United States Penal Code—and supplementary laws, prevented the dissemination of birth-control information even by a physician, and barred anything pertaining to the subject from the mails or common carriers. Other sections were even more rigid, forbidding the possession of any article for preventing conception—*and there were no exceptions.* While the original bill carried the exemption, "except on a prescription of a physician in good standing, given in good faith," these words were omitted from the bill which finally became law. Violations of the laws were punishable by fines of from $2,000 to $5,000, or imprisonment for five years, or both. The laws made no distinction between contraception and abortion, though they are as far apart as the poles. Birth control is the conscious control of the birth rate by scientific means which prevent conception. It is not interference with life after conception has taken place.

And the laws had teeth. Many supplies and much literature were confiscated and destroyed. Although no outstanding, distinguished physicians were actually prosecuted for violating the law, this was mainly because they did not openly violate it. They were intimidated and kept in fear of prosecution. With federal and state laws in conflict and confusion, a physician might legally dispense information under state statutes, but it was illegal for him under a literal interpretation of the federal statutes to send or to receive

Birth Control in the United States

Federal Law

Birth control is legal under medical direction. A United States Circuit Court of Appeals has held that the federal obscenity laws do not apply to the legitimate activities of physicians and that they may prescribe contraceptives in the interests of the health and general well-being of their patients.

State Laws

It is legal under state as well as federal statutes in twenty-one states, which have no provisions against it. They are Alabama, Arkansas, Florida, Georgia, Illinois, Kentucky, Maryland, New Hampshire, New Mexico, North Carolina, North Dakota, Oklahoma, Rhode Island, South Carolina, South Dakota, Tennessee, Texas, Utah, Vermont, Virginia and West Virginia. The same is true in the District of Columbia, Puerto Rico and the Territories of Alaska, Hawaii, the Philippine Islands and the Virgin Islands.

Ten states have limited laws, but physicians are exempt and drug-store sales of contraceptives are permitted. They are Colorado, Indiana, Ohio, Delaware, Iowa, Montana, Wisconsin, Wyoming, Oregon and Idaho.

Three states allow physicians to prescribe contraceptives, but druggists are not mentioned. They are New York, Nevada and Minnesota.

Six states have statutes aimed at indiscriminate advertising and distribution of material. They are Arizona, California, Louisiana, Maine, Michigan and Washington.

One state, New Jersey, allows the dissemination of information for a "just cause."

One state, Connecticut, forbids the *use* of contraceptives.

Two states, Massachusetts and Mississippi, list no exemptions. Mississippi is the only state forbidding oral information.

One state, Kansas, exempts medical textbooks, and by implication the medical profession.

Three states, Missouri, Nebraska and Pennsylvania, exempt chartered medical schools and medical textbooks, and by implication the medical profession.

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the necessary technical information and medical supplies. The laws hampered the progressive physician, eager to adopt preventive health measures and willing to advise his patients privately, but reluctant to take a similar stand in public practice because of confusion as to his legal rights in this field of medicine.

The Comstock laws not only thwarted efforts to protect mothers from excessive child-bearing and children from being born sick, weak, unwanted and unprovided for, but were responsible, directly or indirectly, for the deaths of a million mothers during the six decades in which they were enforced. These deaths occurred among mothers who were the victims of abortions or of bearing children when in unfit physical condition.

Even today the situation is still appalling in some respects. Out of every four mothers who die in America, one death is due to abortion. Out of 15,000 mothers who die each year from causes due to childbirth or pregnancy, a large percentage are "poor maternity risks" from the start. As for infant mortality, statistics of the United States Children's Bureau tell their eloquent but unheeded story. When the interval between births is too short, death rates climb. Babies born one year apart die at the rate of 147 per thousand; babies born two years apart have a mortality rate of only 98 per thousand. These figures are a challenge to the nation.

For many years efforts to induce Congress to amend the Comstock laws were unavailing, but sentiment for changing them increased rapidly from 1930 onward. In the campaign undertaken by the National Committee on Federal Legislation for Birth Control, Inc., nearly a thousand organizations with approximately twenty millions of members eventually endorsed the lifting of federal restrictions, and 325,000 individual endorsements were filed with Congress. Few causes have won such a vast number of active supporters.

Through a liberal court, this informed and potent public opinion finally found expression. One of the judges, in a separate opinion, observed: "A statute stands until public opinion gets enough momentum to change it, which may be long after a majority would repeal it, if a poll were taken."

The National Committee on Federal Legislation for Birth Control, Inc., had proceeded along both legislative and legal lines of battle. As confiscations of books and materials increased, a particularly strong test case was instituted by the Committee in behalf of Dr. Hannah M. Stone, medical director of the Birth Control Clinical Research Bureau in New York. The government, through the Bureau of Customs, had seized a package containing 120 pessaries to prevent conception, which the government alleged had been imported contrary to Section 305 (a) of the Tariff Act of 1930, which stemmed from the Comstock law of 1873. These pessaries had been sent to Dr. Stone by a physician in Japan for trial in her practice, and she had been asked to give an opinion as to their usefulness for contraceptive purposes. Dr. Stone testified at the trial that she prescribed the use of pessaries in cases where it would not be desirable for a patient to undertake a pregnancy.

It was in this case, on November 30, 1936, that birth control under medical direction was finally recognized as legal. The United States Circuit Court of Appeals for the Second Circuit rendered a decision that the federal obscenity laws do not apply to the legitimate activities of physicians, and that they may prescribe contraceptives in the interests of the health and general well-being of their patients. That enlightened decision brought birth control to the goal it had long sought through legislation and was an emancipation proclamation to the motherhood of America. Its objective won, the National Committee disbanded.

With sharp, surgical precision the historic decision cut through the tangled confusion of federal laws. It removed the shadow of illegality and the stigma of obscenity and brought the federal statutes into conformity with most state statutes. In the few remaining states in which outmoded statutes await reinterpretation, the decision is a beacon for other courts to follow.

The decision constitutes a Bill of Rights for the medical profession in the field of contraception. The nation owes a debt of gratitude to the wisdom, the logic and the humanity of Judges Augustus N. Hand, Thomas W. Swan and Learned Hand, for upholding the previous decision of United States District Court Judge Grover Moscowitz that contraceptives imported for a lawful purpose did not come within the restrictions of the statute.

Homer S. Cummings, Attorney General of the United States, announced that the government would rest its case and not carry it to the United States Supreme Court. Thus the decision of the Circuit Court of Appeals became the law of the land, and the Treasury Department thereupon issued instructions to Customs authorities to admit contraceptive supplies addressed to physicians. For the ultimate victory we are also deeply grateful to Morris L. Ernst, counsel for Dr. Stone and the Committee, for his gallant and successful fight as well as his constant championship of civil liberties and clarification of obstructive laws.

Medical as well as legal sanction for birth control at last exists. Less than a year after the legal decision, and following a long investigation by a special committee, the American Medical Association, in June, 1937, approved birth control as an essential part of medical practice and education, and urged the necessity for informing physicians of their legal rights in relation to the use of contraceptives. A resolution declared that

> . . . it seems fair . . . to assume that the state courts, if called upon to construe the statutes relating to the dissemination of contraceptive information, will adopt lines of reasoning similar to those followed in the case cited (U. S.

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v. One Package) and in other cases decided by the United States courts, leaving physicians free to give information concerning contraception when required to meet the medical needs of patients.

This reference was to the Dr. Hannah Stone case. The public may now look to the Association to carry on research in contraception and to promote the teaching of birth control in medical schools.

Birth control, therefore, from a national standpoint, is at last freed. The federal statutes are no longer a stumbling block. However, there is need for clarification of state statutes in the few states where the literal wording of the law may still be invoked unless public opinion makes its force felt. In the past some states followed the lead of the federal government in enacting and clinging to obsolete statutes restricting the dissemination of contraceptive knowledge, but, fortunately, these statutes contain exemptions of many types and degrees as regards the medical profession. There are twenty-four states with statutes of this character. Some of them are confused, outmoded conglomerations of provisions aimed indiscriminately at birth control, obscenity, indecency, abortion, miscarriage, lotteries, nostrums, drops, pills, tinctures, compounds, poisons, drugs, prophylactics, lust, crime and "sex-exciting devices." Nevertheless, these statutory relics of the past do not impose any obstacles for the medical profession. The situation is summed up in the box on page 324.

There remain, then, three states. In one, Connecticut, the *use* of contraceptives is forbidden. This statute, incapable of enforcement, has long subjected Connecticut to ridicule, but this blue-law relic has remained as part of the code, despite earnest and repeated efforts to amend it. Nevertheless, seven birth-control clinics are in operation in Connecticut.

Mississippi makes no exceptions in its statutes, which ban even oral information. An effort to amend the Mississippi law nearly succeeded during the past session. A bill passed the House and was defeated in the Senate by only six votes.

In Massachusetts the state laws have been challenged. While they make no exception of any kind, eight birth-control clinics, directed and sponsored by outstanding medical and civic leaders of the state, have served the public for many years without legal hindrance. Meanwhile, repeated efforts have been made to modernize the Massachusetts laws, but without success. In the summer of 1937 three Massachusetts birth-control clinics were raided. Doctors, nurses, social workers and officials were arrested, convicted and fined. Their cases are being appealed to the higher courts and pending decision all clinics in the state have closed. This reactionary step is a warning that while prohibitory laws of this type remain on the statute books, they constitute a continuing threat to the freedom of the medical profession and the welfare of mothers.

Oregon holds the distinction of being the first state to divorce contraception from abortion and obscenity. It is also the first state to attempt to safeguard its citizens by setting up a control of contraceptive products and advertising under its State Board of Pharmacy. To North Carolina goes the honor of being the first state to provide birth-control clinical service through its State Department of Health and county physicians. Puerto Rico has also enacted progressive legislation.

What lies ahead? It is not enough merely to *establish* the rights of physicians through the courts. This ethical gain must be used. We have taken a great step forward, but other hurdles must be cleared. With birth control legalized by court decisions, all states should now catch up with public sentiment, judicial interpretation and the demand for contraceptive services by clarifying and modernizing their laws. All state laws should be positive, not vague or negative. They should clearly and affirmatively declare and assure the right of medical birth control, not merely fail to forbid it, or limit it.

Therefore I ask all who have so loyally made our legal and medical victories possible to join efforts with us again in the next important objective—the inclusion of birth-control service in local, state and national health programs. In this way only can those mothers most desperately in need of this information obtain it through reliable medical channels. Help make it known to hospitals, relief agencies, philanthropic and public-health officials that the federal decision has freed their hands. Challenge all plans for the reduction of maternal and infant mortality that ignore the basic need for including contraceptive service in such programs.

We must move fast, for women and children are dying needlessly. Individual and group effort can point the way and can do immeasurable good. But those guiding our programs for relief, for the reduction of maternal and infant mortality and for the control of syphilis, must recognize that the provision of scientific birth-control information is essential to the success of all such programs.

Today there are more than three hundred and fifty birth-control centers in the country. Ten times that number are required to meet the need. There are 7,000 hospitals and 10,000 other agencies where medical aid is sought by mothers too poor to pay the fees of private physicians which ought to provide contraceptive service. And medical-nursing service ought to bring birth control to thousands of forgotten women on farms and in isolated districts remote from medical centers. Their plight and pleas are among the most poignant of all.[1]

MARGARET SANGER

1 "Federal and State Laws Pertaining to Birth Control," a pamphlet containing State and Federal statutes may be obtained from the Birth Control Clinical Research Bureau, 17 West Sixteenth Street, New York City. Price 25 cents.

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Confidential: To the President

THE NEWSPAPERS have told us during the past week or so, Mr. President, that you have at last decided to return to the policy of "pump-priming" through large federal expenditures. Amounts running as high as four or five billions are being mentioned. I am one of millions of people who earnestly hope that these plans will be put into effect.

No one can any longer doubt that the present depression is an extremely serious matter. The Federal Reserve Board index has sunk from 118 a few months ago to 79 at present. Another ten points, and it will be as low as it was when things were at their worst, in 1932. Individual industries have been hit harder still: steel, for example, has lost about two-thirds of its business since last summer.

Nobody knows how many people are unemployed; let me remind you once again that the United States, alone among the chief civilized nations, does not collect accurate, regular statistics as to how many are out of work. There is no doubt, however, that the number is now at least 12,000,000, and it may be several millions more. Jobs are being lost at the rate of about 1,000,000 a month. You can get a rough idea of how things are by considering Cleveland, Ohio. On April 7, the Cleveland Relief Commissioner said that nearly one-third of the entire population is on relief, trying to get there, or working for the WPA.

Although federal work relief has been greatly expanded, a few weeks ago it was employing less than 3,000,000 persons, which means that three out of every four unemployed or, with their dependents, something like twelve out of every sixteen, have to turn elsewhere—to their own savings, those of friends and relatives, private charity or municipal, county and, in rare instances, state funds. (A million are getting some help from unemployment insurance.) As was pointed out in this paper last week, the situation in each of these categories is a good deal worse than it was in 1929. If people are not to starve, Mr. President, and you have assured us that they shall not, the federal government must shoulder the burden again.

Of your plans, as they have thus far been described, some parts seem far more desirable than others. Many people will gravely question the new appropriation of $1,500,000,000 for the Reconstruction Finance Corporation. They remember the serious questions that have been raised in the past regarding some of the loans made by that body. They are doubtful regarding the whole policy of shoring up mismanaged railroads and other large enterprises which suffer from vastly inflated capitalization. Those who take this view believe it would be wiser to clean the slate and let government aid be given, not to pay interest on dubious securities, but to benefit both labor and the public.

There is also some doubt regarding the policy of providing perhaps $1,500,000,000 for loans to municipalities and other local units, this money to be used for public works. That the works are needed, there is no question, and loans without interest, to be paid back over fifty years at two percent a year, are obviously more attractive than the normal type of borrowing. Nevertheless, there is grave doubt whether the overburdened cities will be legally able, or be willing, to run farther into debt, or will act quickly enough to relieve the present grave emergency. Another justifiable criticism is that money spent in this way can be subject only to local planning, while what is needed is planning on a state, regional and national basis into which local projects of certain types ought to be fitted.

Many of your supporters will be disappointed if the reports prove correct that you are planning to add only a quarter or a half a billion to the WPA funds, to reach a maximum of perhaps a billion and a half. A few years ago, when the emergency was only slightly more serious than today, you did not hesitate to think in terms of three or four billions for work relief, and found it none too much. If you were right then, any lesser policy would be wrong today.

I can well understand, Mr. President, with what grim humor you must have listened, in recent months, to the anguished howls of business men—anguished because you had taken their advice and they didn't like it. For years, every self-appointed spokesman for business had been demanding that you should balance the budget. To be sure, nobody suggested that we should accomplish this by increasing taxation to the level of the British, for example, which is about three times as high as our own. On the contrary, they wanted you to perform this mystic and sacred rite by economizing in expenditures. Since nearly all the abnormal spending in your administration has been for relief, that is obviously where they wanted the cuts to be made.

Beginning last summer, you acceded to their request. You cut down federal expenditures for work relief from a previous high level of about $320,000,000 a month to a low point in August of only about $165,000,000. Whereas previous appropriations had been as high as four billions, you were satisfied to ask from Congress only an over-all total of $1,500,000,000.

There is a deadly parallel between the downward movement of the business index and this enormous drop in federal spending. I am not saying that the curtailment of relief was the only cause of the trouble, or even the chief cause. There were certainly other important factors. One reason was an orgy of price raising which put many items beyond the reach of the

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consuming public. Another was the coming into effect of the social-security taxes, which are piling up into a vast—and needless—reserve in the Treasury. A reason for the crash in Wall Street, in particular, was that speculators had driven up the price of many stocks beyond all reason. But while these things contributed, no one can doubt that the sudden withdrawal of hundreds of millions of dollars of federal relief funds, the smashing of thousands of projects all over the country, did contribute materially to the creation of our present misery. Your triumph over your foes—on this point, at least—is complete.

To be sure, they do not hate you any the less because you have demonstrated that on this extremely important matter they were wrong and you were right. If anything, they hate you more than ever. One of the great mysteries that historians of the future will puzzle over is why you have aroused such bitter animosity. I think I can perhaps help the historians, and at the same time suggest a desirable course of conduct for you.

I begin with the premise, with which I am sure you will agree, that the hatred felt toward you is quite unjustified. You haven't actually done anything to threaten in the remotest degree the sacred scheme of private capitalism. On the contrary, you have tried to make it work better and thereby ensure its permanence. Taxes during your administrations have on the whole been amazingly light, as is proved by the British example mentioned above. They have been far too light, in my opinion, for the good health of either business or the country as a whole. Your very mild efforts to regularize Wall Street, to make the electric utilities behave, to obtain recognition of union labor, have been matters on which most sensible men have agreed with you. They have been directed chiefly against the small minority of bandits whom the majority has always wanted to discipline if it could.

Those who were demanding economy, a year ago, and now don't like it, have gone back to the old cry about "confidence." If you would only do something to restore confidence, they say, business would go on zooming across the landscape, full of vitamins. You and I and a good many other people know that this is nonsense. Under Mr. Harding in 1921, business was loaded to the gills with confidence in the President. Yet we had an extremely severe depression in 1921, and the more Mr. Harding did what business told him, the worse things grew. The same thing was true for three and a half years under Mr. Hoover. He promised business whatever it wanted promised, he exuded confidence from every square inch of his epidermis, and every day, things got worse. You and I know that business men go ahead when they see customers in sight, and not before. No customers, no confidence, not even if Alfred Sloan or Bruce Barton himself were in the White House. What customers need is cash, and American business for more than two years has been in a large, wholehearted, unconscious conspiracy to deprive them of that cash.

Business men cannot hate you for anything you have done to them, for you haven't done it. Why, then, are they so bitter?

I believe the answer is simple: It is because you have called them names.

Many European visitors have commented on what they describe as the infantilism of the American male. Whether they are right or not in regard to the whole masculine population, what they say is certainly true of many big business men. Like movie producers, they spend their lives surrounded by yes-men. They are carefully shielded from anything disagreeable, or if ugly facts must be faced—as for instance on a balance sheet—it is always possible to blame someone else.

Ever since your first inauguration, Mr. President, you have been calling the business men names. None of your phrases has struck as deep as some invented by your cousin, Theodore—with a possible exception of "economic royalist"—but they have rankled none the less. The business men want deference and have had derision. I suggest that they have been so hurt, indignant, passionately angry over the names you called them that they have quite overlooked the fact that you rescued them from the brink of chaos, that you have been just as good a friend to them as the doctor is to a small boy when he prescribes castor oil after overeating on Christmas Day.

What I now propose, Mr. President, is a reversal of your policy. I suggest that you no longer address business with smear words, but on the contrary, go out of your way to flatter it on every occasion. I suggest that at the same time you adopt a policy of in fact doing the things that business does not like but that the country needs. To paraphrase Mr. Harry Richman, I suggest that you might say: "You dear good kind Business, you, I know that in your wisdom you will agree with me that it is best for all our sakes that tax rates be much increased and that we meet the cost of relief on a pay-as-you-go basis. I rely on your sagacity and nobility, which have never failed us yet, to recognize that minimum wages and maximum hours, set up by law, are the very foundation of The American Way of Life, as espoused by the National Association of Manufacturers. Every good American—and that means You—wants this country to have a free and sturdy working class, such as is possible only under uninhibited collective bargaining. Fellow New Dealers, I salute you."

With your quick mind, Mr. President, you will already have perceived that my remarks are merely an extended version of the old saying that one can catch more flies with honey than with vinegar. I still commend that observation to your attention. For there are many flies, and they need catching.

BRUCE BLIVEN

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Shoot the Works

Broun Returns to the Good Earth

NOW LET THY SERVANT DEPART IN PEACE. Walter Lippmann has begun to tell off Dorothy Thompson. In my own feeble and furtive way I have in the past intimated, from time to time, that possibly Miss Thompson made comments which were not wholly based upon complete and accurate information.

But unfortunately I do not rank among the supreme factualists of all time. Moreover, my own slight animadversions upon the pontifical notes of Miss Thompson might circumstantially be dismissed in some quarters as nurtured by the spleen of a slightly syndicated columnist for one of the great in the newspaper field. There is even the fearful possibility that some may think that Mr. Lippmann himself, when he grows critical, is motivated by an irritation because his Herald Tribune confrère is cutting into his orange-juice field. Still he does cite book and chapter.

"It seems clear enough," writes Walter Lippmann, "that many opponents of the reorganization bill are making charges without having taken the trouble to study the facts. Thus Miss Dorothy Thompson stated on Monday that the Byrnes bill 'puts the President—any President—who is usually the head, as well, of a political party, in sole command of the civil service through his power to appoint (and presumably remove) the sole chief of the service.' No doubt this is the general impression. But those who hold it cannot have read the existing civil-service act and the existing civil-service rules along with the Byrnes bill."

Dorothy, desist. At another point the "Today and Tomorrow" Lippmann takes up one of your points and remarks curtly, "This does not happen to be true." But whether Dorothy desists or not, I think she may be safely left in the Lippmann den. I'm going to take a week off and return to farming.

The old ranch on the Ridge is being renovated and so I'm doing my spring planting by remote control. That is, I am making mental beds of both flowers and vegetables. And when I talk of potatoes I almost seem to see their little heads popping up from the good earth. And in my mind's eye there looms a row of tomato vines with the fruit already growing red beneath the sun. And of course there will be corn and carrots, not forgetting melons and eggplant.

The eggplant is a particularly useful vegetable for the suburban farmer. It takes a heap of cooking to make an eggplant food. But it has its uses even for one who takes no great joy in chewing so much fiber. The eggplant, as it happens, is the favorite vegetable of the Sunday painter who wishes to experiment with still life. The recipe is simple. You take one orange, two dead fish, a blue vase and an eggplant. Group them in combination according to taste and then get started on your masterpiece. No other vegetable will do as well.

As yet I have been delaying my painting as well as my planting. I lack the necessary equipment. There is a blue vase in the house but I haven't got the fish or the vegetables. Just back of the studio there lies a little pond and last year we threw some three hundred fingerlings into the icy waters. My own fear was that this exposure might be too severe for such little fish. But the man from the hatchery said they simply adored it. Having heard certain rumors about fish, I had assumed that when spring rolled round this year my three hundred early settlers would constitute a colony of at least three thousand. But the man must have sold me a lot more sophisticated or less ambitious than usual.

There has been no increase whatsoever in the population of the pond. Possibly it was not sloth and race suicide which cleared the pond of living creatures. They may have fallen victims of their own ferocity in some lakewide encounter. In other words, they tried to live by eating each other. Still this theory buckles up because of the fact that even in a general encounter the biggest fish should still remain. And by all the rules of the game he would be a pickerel. Possibly he is hiding out, realizing that I have arrived and that he has met his master. Or perhaps he died of a surfeit.

However, there may be an ornithological explanation of the mystery. Just before sunset yesterday I saw a pair of blue herons trundling their heavy bulk across the surface of the water. They seemed almost aldermanic in their proportions and they flew after the fashion of a gentleman and lady who had dined well at some seafood place.

And so it seems that I must surrender domain over my lake to the birds of the air. I must get back to the good earth and gardening. And if, until now, I have been reluctant about getting down to spadework, the explanation is easy. Hereabouts the good earth isn't really very good. In fact it's terrible. And before I can get seeds into the ground I will have to move four or five tons of rock from off the surface of the patch. We have an amazing crop of pebbles this spring and even though I work my fingers to the bone, as is my habit, I very much fear that I'm going to raise more boulders than broccoli.

Still as I toil I will sing a lilting song like the six dwarfs of Snow White. I know that there used to be seven, but Dopey has been drafted to serve as a newspaper proprietor. And if I get no more than a few bushels of beans, still there will be the exercise and the comforting thought that the strange case of Miss Thompson has been taken up by a specialist.

And there will be an educational value in trying to get down to the rock of even a small garden patch. After a single afternoon of exertion I began to feel that I knew more about the New England character than I had ever learned from schoolbooks. The virtues and the faults of the Puritan temperament are all embedded in my partially plowed half-acre. I have wrestled with the soil of Connecticut and it has thrown me. Naturally when I think of any one of the Pilgrim Fathers I am minded to say, "What a man!" He did succeed in eking out a living. He was stern in his concepts, but look at the rocks he had to encounter. Even now that great tribal ancestor may stand as a model for us in many things. He was not content, indeed he could not have endured, had he been satisfied to scratch the surface and call it a day. Or, for that matter, to call it a column.

HEYWOOD BROUN

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Washington Notes

What Business Calls Cooperation

LAST WEEK Governor George H. Earle, all in a lather to snatch political credit from Senator Guffey and Labor's Non-Partisan League, made known from the White House steps that Pennsylvania would receive federal funds for a great new express highway, thus prematurely forcing an announcement of the administration's public-works program. The total amount to be asked for is likely to be about $1,500,000,000, but no final decision has been taken on how it will be financed. The disclosure brought a sanctimonious chorus of croaks from Tory newspapers. Yet the fact is that the administration, against its will, has been pushed into a spending program solely by the failure of business to exhibit any of the rugged risk-taking qualities of which it boasts.

Last fall, when the depression was only the size of a man's hand, the administration decided to push private home-building. By the spring—which would be now—a great housing boom was to be ready. It would hoist the country from the pit of unemployment and win the 1938 elections. Accordingly, in the fall special session, Congress was asked to liberalize the FHA's lending regulations, and the chief White House aides undertook to see that they were used. The two leaders were Chairman Eccles and Secretary Morgenthau.

It was agreed that mass-production technique must be brought into the industry. The heads of great construction concerns, whose experience previously had been with factories, warehouses, skyscrapers, were brought to Washington, introduced to Mr. Roosevelt and taken to see the New Deal's planned community at Greenbelt, Maryland. They were asked what they thought their costs would be for an adequate dwelling unit, using large-scale methods. In one instance, the head of a Middle West construction company guessed $3,000. Reports were thrust under his nose showing that similar houses were selling in his home city at twice that sum. With eyes gleaming greedily, he promised to return home and build houses at a thousand a clip.

The heads of the A. F. of L. building unions and of the great building-supply concerns were drawn into the campaign. Mr. Clarence M. Woolley, of American Radiator, became a favorite child of the administration, and is supposed to have been neck-deep in plans. When the manufacturers of certain bulk materials, like brick and cement, refused to drop prices to prospective large-scale purchasers, the administration brought pressure against them. Within the last month, you may have noticed that the Treasury threw out all bids from cement manufacturers, on the ground they were not truly competitive.

What has been the result? In New York City, Mayor LaGuardia has followed the New Deal's lead, and last week revealed he had $50,000,000 in private residential building arranged for. But, in general, this effort to make private industry work has fizzled out. The home-building season is here and contracts are up slightly, but it is clear there will be no depression-dispelling boom. A few observers feel that the campaign might have succeeded if Mr. Roosevelt himself had pushed it harder—or, alternatively, had made it the responsibility of a single, highly placed official. Most observers, however, regard it as another example of private industry's laziness, timidity and demoralization.

The administration has had similar disappointment with the railroads. Until the end of February, officials did nothing, apparently in the hope of forcing the ICC to grant a towering increase in freight rates. During this period of inaction, however, plans multiplied like a biologist's fruit flies. The most drastic was that of government ownership, put forward by Labor's Non-Partisan League. This was also advocated by Senator Wheeler, the chief railroad authority in Congress. Soon afterwards, Mr. Roosevelt specifically and pointedly rejected government ownership at a press conference.

Most of the administration's own plans contemplated advancing government money, directly or indirectly, to the railroads in return for promises of reform. Perhaps the most ingenious is the reported scheme of Federal Reserve experts under which the government would itself contract for railroad rolling stock, which would later be rented out to the railroads at suitably low rates. Although the details of this plan have not yet been made public, it would appear to safeguard the public interest better than most, since the government would retain title in the equipment indefinitely. All such plans, however, have been seemingly talked to death by the managements, the insurance companies and the savings banks. The railway brotherhoods have been in a difficult spot. Their leaders would like to take the side of the administration, but they have felt they must have guarantees on issues they regard as vital —mainly on severance pay for the 100,000 workers who will lose their jobs with consolidation.

The plan that now seems likeliest to be adopted is that of Commissioners Splawn, Eastman and Mahaffie of the ICC. By the time these Notes appear, their report to Mr. Roosevelt probably will have been published. It is understood that it will point out the difficulties of a quick, all-over solution, and suggest the problem be attacked piecemeal, railroad by railroad. It will propose the creation of a National Transportation Authority, with power to make wide concessions to the managements. Whatever its merits or defects, it means that immediate railway spending will not be the force that readjusts the economic system.

Until recently, SEC Chairman Douglas and his colleagues were making great progress towards stimulating new utility financing. On the Supreme Court's decision validating the 1935 utility act, Mr. Douglas gave a brave imitation of Lincoln after Appomattox, inviting each utility company to keep its horse, mule and side-arms. He besought the Democratic leaders in Congress to modify the pending tax bill to the advantage of small utilities. This peace-making has, to some degree, been upset by the TVA investigation. The heads of a few big systems, unable to grasp that they have lost the confidence of the public, apparently still think they can beat the administration.

To date, the administration's chief measure for mitigating the depression is the RFC's new powers for lending. During the debate in Congress over the undistributed-

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profits tax, medium-sized corporations deluged the Treasury with harrowing, detailed stories of their troubles in obtaining capital except from their own profits. They could obtain funds from the money market, they explained, only by paying over about 30 cents of every dollar to the investment bankers. The Treasury was impressed. The Investment Bankers' Association was exhorted to reform its members' ways. The fertile-minded Mr. Douglas hatched a plan for creating coöperative-credit institutions, on the pattern of the Federal Land Banks, for medium-sized business. Senator Carter Glass and Mr. Jesse H. Jones then put forward the RFC loan bill—partly, it is reported, to checkmate Mr. Douglas. Suspicious left-wingers wonder if Mr. Jones can transmute the additional $1,500,000,000 he can now lend into the 1940 Democratic nomination for presidency.

Washington T. R. B.

Other People's Money

Realism About the Railroads and the Banks

FARMERS cry for money and get it. Why shouldn't the railroads cry for it and get it—if they can? People who bought $5,000 homes for $10,000 and have $6,000 mortgages on them and couldn't meet them, cried for help and the gentlemen who held the mortgage notes organized and routed their cries to the Great White Guarantor in Washington and the good, kind government bailed the note-holders out and "saved" the homeowners. They did the same for the farmers. It cost only four or five billions —in fact it didn't cost anything. The government just printed bonds and swapped them for the mortgage notes. It's all so easy. So why shouldn't the railroads get some money from the government?

Back in 1933 when many of the brave leaders in Wall Street were buying remote little farms in the mountain fastnesses of New York against the day of revolution, one of the leading Wall Street bankers suggested that the government should guarantee profits to business. So what is there so goofy about the brotherhoods and the managers of the roads asking the government to give them half a billion a year? It is good to report, of course, that the President wisely shakes his head to this proposal. If we do it for the railroads, where will we stop? It is too bad someone didn't ask that question a hundred years ago. If we give tariffs to the cotton millers, who will want it next? Where will it end?

But the demand for money-aid to the roads is insistent. It is rumored that the RFC has played with the idea of buying up railroad securities. Another gentleman at the Federal Reserve has a grand scheme for the government to form a corporation, buy railroad equipment and lease it to the roads. If we don't watch out, the railroads will nick us for a few billions before we know it.

But why shouldn't the obvious thing be done? Here is a railroad—the New York Central—one of the better roads. It has common stock which it values at $504,000,000. But it has outstanding $648,000,000 in funded debt and another three or four hundred millions in accumulated charges of one sort or another. It's in the position of any business concern which has completely run its course of debt. It's like any little corner grocer who has borrowed from Tom, Dick and Harry and can't get any more credit—and rightly so. What is the use of raving at banks or investors because they won't lend any more money to the New York Central? And does the railroad need money? Could it use a few dozen millions? Well, back in 1929 it had 1,500 more locomotives than it has now. It had 75,000 more freight cars than it has now. Between 1932 and 1936 it bought one lone locomotive and in the same time it bought no passenger cars. In 1929 the road spent $38,000,000 for maintenance and in 1936 it spent $19,000,000.

Now why should the government spend the money of the taxpayers to keep alive a mess of common stock which has probably lost all its value? Suppose this road did what any intelligent business corporation would be called upon to do—go through a real reorganization in which the debt would be reduced, probably by extinction of a large part of the common stock, if not all, and the transmutation of the bonds or a large part of them into stock so that the actual indebtedness would bear some relation to the value of the properties. Its purchasing power would be immediately revived. It could repair its badly impaired properties. It could buy equipment. The roads have been saved from this—or rather victimized—by the follies of the government and, through indefensible receivership and reorganization and bankruptcy laws, they have been permitted to perpetuate their debts while the government itself tided the roads over bad periods with loans.

This is the merry season when the banks publish their quarterly statements. What shall we say of this? Here is the Guaranty Trust Company of New York with $1,425,000,000 in deposits. But this bank has nearly half a billion cash on hand and due from other banks. Its cash, its bullion and its federal and state bonds amount to $1,120,000,000.

The Fulton Trust Company has $22,000,000 in deposits and $15,000,000 of these are to be found in cash in other bank deposits and in government securities. In fact this bank has over $8,000,000,000, out of $22,000,000 in deposits, deposited with the Federal Reserve Bank.

The Commercial National Bank and Trust Company has $83,000,000 in deposits and $66,000,000 represented by cash, government and state bonds.

From bank to bank the story is pretty much the same. Commercial loans are apparently becoming a thing of the past. It is very easy to blame the banks for this, but before you can have a sound loan you must have a sound borrower. Before you can have a sound borrower you must have a sound investment opportunity. The banks blame the politicians for the lack of lending opportunities. Both are wrong. But wrongest of all are the politicians who think that the cure for this is to have the government make all the bad loans that the banks reject.

Warning to Democratic office-holders: If sometime in the next few months you should hear a knock at the door and, opening it, find a large, tall, bald-headed gentleman

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with a bookseller's kit in his hand, close the door rapidly. It will probably be Book Salesman Jim Farley with the samples of the President's book—retail price, $15. Every true Democratic office-holder should own a copy. They can be purchased at the book stores for $15 per set, but autographed copies may fetch whatever the Democratic deficit requires at the moment. JOHN T. FLYNN

"The Sea Gull": II

AT THE END of another note on Chekhov, I was going through divers translations of "The Sea Gull" for instances that might readily excuse or justify some of our confused notions about his style.

Examining some of these specimens that I have picked out as examples, I am not surprised that we should have thought Chekhov's lines so complex or hard to translate. As for the Fell translation, one heard, of course, that the author had lived years in Russia and certainly, therefore, knew the language to the last degree; clearly it was conscience alone that made her willing to sacrifice naturalness of effect, ease, even English structure, much less the possibility of the lines ever being spoken by an actor on the stage. In sum these complicated effects must certainly result from a pious effort to render with the utmost accuracy some subtle and complex original. What else would account for these contortions, solemnities, unsayabilities?

I will not try here for any startling effect, but will merely quote some of those speeches that might have misled me to those misty steppes and subtle windings of Chekhov's style as I had come to imagine it. I will put down the translator's line and after it the straight and nearly always simple line that Chekhov has written.

". . . you can have no inducement to marry a man who cannot even find sufficient food for his own mouth." Chekhov merely asks how one could want to marry a man who can't feed himself.

". . . though what his provocation may be I can't imagine." Chekhov's line is "But what for?"

". . . as if the field of art were not large enough to accommodate both new and old without the necessity of jostling!" Chekhov says, "but there is room for all—why elbow?"

"I am irresistibly impelled toward her." Chekhov says, "I am drawn to her."

"I come back to the conclusion that all I am fit for is to describe landscapes, and that whatever else I attempt rings abominably false." Chekhov says, "I feel that I can write only [of the] landscape, and in everything else I am false and false to the marrow of my bones." Five of the translations refuse Chekhov that repetition of "false."

None of the others is so complicated as this Fell version of "The Sea Gull." But at that there are wide variations in quality, and such renderings as the two following may crop up almost anywhere. Where Chekhov's manager shouts, "You don't know what a farm means," we find in one translator, "You do not know what the management of an estate involves." Where Chekhov has, "Everyone must write as he wants to and as he can," we read, "Everyone must write in accordance with his desire and his capacity."

These instances, though more conspicuously off, are only bits within a larger and impinging general tone that has built up such an idea of Chekhov's lines as would make him frantic and continue to sicken cultured Russians who encounter it. Thinking back over it all, I see that we should have known better. Chekhov's special method, the realistic-psychological, as it is called, should have taught us, I see that now only too clearly. In this method the surface of life is apparently reproduced, natural and familiar; and only by the combinations, the sequences, the underlying associations and implications, are profound meanings created. It should have followed then, if we had kept our wits about us, that his speech would have done a parallel thing. The speech would be simple, on the surface natural and easy; the inner meanings would appear but not through complex or vague lines, not through the muggy, symbolic, swing-on-to-your-atmosphere sort of tone. We should have known that. I for one did not.

Apart from this complete simplicity, the other problems in translating "The Sea Gull" consisted in two things: to get the lines sayable, and thus theatre; to let Chekhov do it his own way, repeat, make images, simplify, whatever he chooses. One may at least try for that. For example when Chekhov organizes a speech where a man says he wanted to become a writer and never became one, wanted to marry and never married, etc., let us not say wanted to become a writer and didn't, wanted to marry and didn't, or remained a bachelor—not one of the six translations allows him his device here.

The most striking of these cases where Chekhov is shown a better way to do it, occurs in the first act of "The Sea Gull," where Treplev begs his mother's patience and she answers by quoting from "Hamlet":

> My son,
> Thou turnst mine eyes into my very soul,
> And there I see such black and grained spots
> As will not leave their tinct.

Let us not assume that Chekhov did not know his business when he drew on the lines with which Shakespeare followed that speech of the queen's:

> Nay, but to live
> In the rank sweat of an enseamed bed,
> Stew'd in corruption, honeying and making love
> Over the nasty sty!

Instead of that passage, however, another and quite different one is substituted in whatever productions of this play I happen to have heard of so far, and in four out of the six translations:

> Leave wringing of your hands. Peace! sit you down!
> And let me wring your heart; for so I shall
> If it be made of penetrable stuff.

That speech is Shakespeare, though transposed, but is not in character of Treplev, merely cleverish, and out of place. A fifth translation, if I remember right, gives a fragment of the Shakespeare passage but apologizes and suggests the substitution of the above. The sixth gives the Shakespeare lines verbatim.

But even that is not what Chekhov wants. The brutality of those lines is daring enough for Hamlet to speak

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before an Elizabethan audience, for all their strong stomachs and open audacity. If Treplev had said them to his mother, it would have brought to the moment something so appalling and obscene that he would have broken up the company gathered there to see his play. What Chekhov does is to paraphrase Shakespeare's lines into, "Nay, but why do you yield to sin, see love in the depths of wickedness?" And in addition to that milder paraphrase, he has the knocking on the floor, the horn sounding, and the play beginning, all of which serves to cut across its impact and draw us adroitly on toward his next impression.

STARK YOUNG

By the Side of the Road

"TO THE VICTOR" is a good picture, and against such odds that it deserves special mention. In the first place, it was made in England. Second, it was made out of a story whose sentiment hangs over the dizzy heights of bathos like a rope bridge—it is "Bob, Son of Battle," altered to fit the film's dramatic purpose. Yet in both direction and acting it comes to the material with such a fresh, sensible approach that the story grows naturally, without any suggestion along its direct line that a slip here would have tumbled it into cliché, too much weight in stepping there would have broken through to maudlin.

In the picture it is mainly a character story of the old Scot whose temper and treachery had a whole village yelling for his downfall—which inevitably comes through the three dearest things in his world: his daughter, whom he loves; his great sheepdog "Black Wull," who is his life; and his whisky, which he drinks. Will Fyffe's management of this part is at once subtle, accurate and grand. And possibly a little baffling to the unweaned movie audience, for while the black old coot has contempt for all and charity for none, is slanderous, mean and violent (hah, the villain), he has self-knowledge and a sardonic twinkle, and in his crusty enmity and direct communion with a wonderful dog, sustained even in defeat, there is a certain nobility (what's this? a hero too?). Its success lies in the open acceptance of good and evil as inseparable parts of the mixture, not so many moral attitudes and May-Robson-Wallace-Beery masks for mugging.

The story also has a young man, new to the village and falling in love with the daughter (she gets kicked out by the old man of course). But romance is secondary to the dogs, on whose respective qualities the story turns. The young man's "Owd Bob" wins the local sheep-herding trials, is suspected (finally acquitted) of being the local murderer—who turns out in the end to be "Black Wull," the ex-title-holder himself. But over and above this bare outline, the whole texture of the film is evidence of how the creatures dominate the life of the community: they are a man's living, and the beauty of their lines and degrees of skill is more to be yarned about, praised and envied than the beauty of women. A man's food and house and clothing depend on his safe fat sheep, and the safety of such helpless stupids must depend on the seasoned patience and intelligence and speed of a man's dog. It is inevitable that the social and gambling event of the year should be the wearing trials at the fair, and that the ten minutes through which the cameras pick this out for the story should be its most fascinating part—just as its climax must come where the men go out at night, to trace the blood killer through his howling in the hills.

Even the ending is only happy by virtue of its wry, salty turn. The old devil, high and dry in the decent new home of his son-in-law, fallen to rise again, is given a pup from the new litter (the bitch had got loose with "Black Wull" before he had to be shot) and sits there with it saying, Yes, it would grow up as great a dog as its father some day maybe—the shrewd eyes still glinting and shifty, the hands wise and kind on the silly pup, which licks away at his face.

Just to even matters up, during the current lull in fruitful Hollywood activity, I will report that "Storm in a Teacup" (British-made right up to the neck) is a mild bore, for surely nothing is duller than the kind of thing which, with the single set purpose of being comedy, will go a mile for a smile and then not get it. As for "The Divorce of Lady X" I can't report as to how funny it may get in the last half: the picture I walked out on was so awkward and flat that hope for it seemed absurd.

"Un Carnet de Bal" (the "Life Dances On" title, along with the dialogue titling, is simply incongruous poor taste) has more acting talent under one roof than you can remember: Jouvet, Raimu, Baur, Fernandel, Pierre Blanchar, Françoise Rosay. Julien Duvivier's problem in writing and direction was how to make so many sound character studies into something more than a French "Big Broadcast of 1938"; and his story is more an ingenuity than any solution in film terms. A young and lonely widow goes out to find the eight lovers who had the dances at her first ball. Finding them either content or tragic, she puts her illusions to rest and becomes wiser if not more happy: one's first ball, one's first cigarette—ah well.

It is a little song in a minor key, but done with taste and well sustained. In fact, the devices for elision, transition and pictures of the mind are real film work, sometimes bordering on the "effect" but often brilliant (*e.g.*, the slow-motion mood of the remembered ball, the chattering cranes beyond the doctor's window). It is solid in character and dramatic meaning. The most charming and happily droll sequence was that with Raimu as the mayor who married himself; Jouvet is as usual priceless; and for pity and terror there is the sequence with Pierre Blanchar as the broken doctor. It is a book of short stories for the screen, some of them unusually fine.

And Besides.—Most of the films Paul Rotha showed over here are those made by other men under the multiple-unit, continuous-production system he and Grierson left off directing single films to set up in England—both of them seeing, as most of the prize boys over here are too slow or willful to see, that solo work may be very gratifying to the ego but bakes no cookies so far as a vital, working tradition of film making is concerned. But a few weeks ago I had a chance to see a film Rotha made himself four years back, and I should like to come out for it. It is called "Shipyard" and its main picture is of the construction of a ship and how the life of this hull becomes the life of the town—not so much the wonders of machinery as

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the homely mortal genius behind all machinery. In sound and camera it never sags; as a document of life and work it is better than Ivens' glass-blower, better, I think, than anything of its kind that has been made. But there is no use reviewing it; you'll never see it. Why? It is owned by Gaumont-British, who wouldn't release it here because the ship wasn't the "Queen Mary." What's more they won't rent the print, won't let it out of their hands, and in order to show it to anyone Rotha had to hire their damn projection room. Gaumont-British, you know, is the firm that has been spending thousands on Anglo-American understanding as regards films—all to plug incessantly some of the saddest celluloid ever exposed to the light of day.

OTIS FERGUSON

The Bandwagon

Some sort of employment and economic security has been brought to all who comply. And concentration camps give security to the balance. – *Former President Hoover in a speech on conditions in Nazi Germany, reported in The New York Times.*

The Propaganda Ministry is bringing 25,000 radios to Austria for the benefit of the poor, who otherwise would be unable to hear official Nazi news in their homes. – *News item from Vienna in The New York Herald Tribune.*

Farms of about sixty acres should be sold and likewise financed to qualified farmers and thus giving every citizen a home to fight for, in the event of a future war. – *Harley D. Jones, candidate for Congress in Illinois, in an election circular.*

Hopkins, We Are Here

Teton County High School's senior-class sponsor today ruled out a class motto proposed by students. It was "WPA, Here We Come." – *Dispatch from Choteau published in The Butte, Mont., Standard.*

Be It Ever so Humble

The main residence of twenty-seven rooms and nine bathrooms, a large rambling wood structure, is known as Riverside Farm. Its original part was built more than 200 years ago, and the witness said he had made nine additions. "I think," he said with considerable deliberation, "that it could truthfully be described as a comfortable home." – *From an article in The New York Sun, in regard to the recent examination of Mr. Richard Whitney.*

Fee-Fi-Fo-Fum Department

Last week the Boston school committee found out what was behind the child-labor amendment when the Department of Agriculture asked permission to measure school children supposedly for the purpose of obtaining a more satisfactory sizing of garments and patterns. . . . The federal bureau apparently was trying to take over education. – *Governor Hurley of Massachusetts, quoted in The Boston Herald.*

Our readers are invited to contribute to this column and $1 will be paid for each item used. Address The Bandwagon, care of The New Republic. – THE EDITORS

Correspondence

Lift the Spanish Embargo

SIR: I would like to impress upon your readers the critical importance of taking action directed toward lifting the embargo against Spain. Thousands of people have made magnificent response to recent appeals for money with which to buy ambulances and food for republican Spain. But the utmost we can do will not be enough unless Spain is permitted to buy arms with which to defend herself.

All liberals, whatever their attitude toward the general question of neutrality, agree that for our embargo against Spain there is no justification whatever. More, the embargo is an almost criminal wrong against a republic defending itself against fascist invasion.

Friends of Spain and of freedom can do nothing more important right now than to write and telegraph President Roosevelt, Secretary Hull, Chairman Sam D. McReynolds of the House Foreign Affairs Committee and Chairman Key Pittman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, telling them that the American people want the embargo against Spain lifted.

HERMAN F. REISSIG, Executive Secretary,
Medical Bureau and North American Committee
New York City to Aid Spanish Democracy.

Nebraska's Experiment

SIR: Your editorial, "Nebraska's Experiment," in the March 23 issue of The New Republic, seems to me unfair and unjust. . . . The one-house legislature in Nebraska is recognized as a great improvement, as a step in advance. To expect to accomplish at one time all the improvements that will follow from the movement inaugurated by Nebraska is to ask the impossible.

It is true, as your editorial says, that party alignments still exist in Nebraska, but they have been practically abandoned in the proceedings of the legislature. The election of the members of the legislature on a non-partisan ballot has been a great improvement, but party bosses and party machines will not give up their grip without a fight. They are still trying by every means within their power to defeat the effect of the non-partisan provision. To some extent they have been successful, but the inroads made upon the old party maneuvers have been pronounced, and have had a very beneficial effect. Lobbyists are still hovering around the Nebraska one-house legislature, but with much less success and much less power than they formerly had under the two-house legislature and the "joker" known as the conference committee. . . .

No man was more disappointed with some of the things the

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first unicameral legislature of Nebraska did than was I. I regret it very deeply that it did not approve the Federal Child Labor Amendment. I thought it made a mistake when it provided for the large committee of which you complain in the editorial—I think so yet. It was not so clear or free from the influence of lobbyists as I had hoped it would be. It was not so completely divorced from the influence of politicians as I desired, but it was far above the average bicameral legislature—it was such an improvement over the old method of corruption, delay and deception that in comparison it seemed like a breath of spring breeze as compared with the blizzard of December. The principle involved, the fundamental idea, had been changed, a great step of human progress had been taken, and a new order far from perfect, far from ideal, was established in its stead. . . .

In the main, criticism comes from those who fought it bitterly—politicians of both political parties, practically all of the newspapers, every lobbyist in the state and all of the monopolies and combinations which usually hover about seeking special advantage. Now the critics say there was more lobbying than ever before, but the lobbyists are still fighting the one-house legislature. If this criticism is just or true, why should they do this? The politicians are still yelling that they want the members elected on a party ticket. If non-partisanship has made no headway, why are the politicians sitting around, like a hungry wolf, trying to gnaw open a hole in which they can get their noses? . . .

Although the one-house legislature has operated for many years in some very progressive nations, yet the setting up of the unicameral legislature in Nebraska was, to a great extent, an experiment here—or at least it is regarded so. I think the members of this legislature realize that they were rather "on the spot" and that the entire country was looking at them and I think they were careful lest they should make some mistakes. They took a great deal of time in organizing. They leaned backwards in trying to prevent hasty action. They took much more time than any subsequent legislature will have to take in their organization and in perfecting their machinery for operation. . . .

This legislature did not pass as severe rules and regulations about lobbying as it ought to have done, but the method by which lobbying had the greatest grip (the conference committee) is abolished so the opportunity for the lobbyist to work is outside of the machinery of legislation. I have no doubt but that future legislatures will correct this evil and stop this loophole as they have stopped many others. . . .

U. S. Senate, Washington, D. C. GEORGE W. NORRIS

We hasten to assure Senator Norris that he misunderstood the purpose of our editorial. It was not written in hostility to the unicameral legislature, as is proved by the last paragraph, in which we said: "The fact that it has failed to produce good laws is not necessarily an argument against it as a form of government. . . . There has hardly been time to test the unicameral system. . . . What the Nebraska experiment has demonstrated is perhaps that a good system must be supplemented by good men and sound traditions." The main point of our editorial was to criticize the Legislative Executive Council and the Norton Short Ballot Bill. We assume from Senator Norris' letter that he agrees with us.

Milton Mandell, of Knoxville, Tennessee, writes to criticize the same editorial. He points out that the unicameral legislature and the selection of representatives without party designation are two separate matters that should be discussed separately, and argues in favor of the short ballot on the ground that "for the past twenty years students of government organization have been advocating shortening of ballots in elections for the purpose of concentrating the attention of the voter on a few candidates and ensuring full responsibility for the business of the state in the hands of the chief executive." Professor Albert H. Burrows, of the Nebraska State Teachers' College, Chadron, Nebraska, points out that the state constitution requires that the short-ballot proposal shall not be published until four weeks before the election, and gives an enthusiastic picture of the workings of the unicameral legislature in general. Daniel Horrigan, of Ohama, Nebraska, writes to say that "big utility and other large corporate interests" have found the unicameral legislature "most satisfactory," since it has "made their control of the government of Nebraska more secure." – THE EDITORS

The Non-Jefferson Memorial

SIR: The National Competitions Committee wishes to call attention to the proposed reopening of the Thomas Jefferson Memorial question. The last protest against the location of this memorial and the type of design proposed by the late John Russel Pope was effective in preventing the appropriation of funds by the last Congress. Since then Mr. Pope's successors have been busy redesigning the memorial and relocating it so as to preserve the contours of the Tidal Basin and the cherry trees.

Mr. Boylan now proposes to ask for an appropriation for the new scheme which, following the same methods of procedure which characterized him last year, has not been referred either to his fellow Congressmen or to the public. From the brief presentation that was made last year after the protest it seems a fair assumption that the new site, while less damaging to the cherry trees, is still an unsatisfactory one, in that it will cause a serious traffic disruption to the bridge approach and that it is much too near the main-line tracks of the Southern Railroad.

There is the further objection, which cannot be too often repeated, that any site on the axis of the White House on the north side of the Mall on Potomac Park is an absolute contravention of the original L'Enfant plan. Major L'Enfant was wise enough to realize that any building or monument on the north, with the sun continuously in back of it, would only be seen in silhouette.

The National Competitions Committee urges protest to members of Congress against this scheme not only for the above reasons but also because of the peculiar circumstances surrounding the whole affair. There was no competition for this project—which is of sufficient national importance to warrant the best efforts of the architectural profession of this country. Plans have been kept secret until the last moment in order that discussion and criticism might be avoided. We wish it distinctly understood that we have no criticism of the ability either of the late Mr. Pope or of his very capable successor. We have, however, criticism of a commission which undertakes the erection of a tribute to one of the greatest of Americans by a method which is un-Jeffersonian and undemocratic.

HENRY S. CHURCHILL, Chairman,
WILLIAM LESCAZE, Secretary,
New York City JULIAN WHITTLESEY, Treasurer

Take a Letter

SIR: Bruce Bliven has written a letter to Stalin [The New Republic, March 30]. If Bliven may write a letter of advice to Stalin, then certainly Campbell may write a letter of advice to Bliven without feeling abashed. . . . Since Bliven has now had experience at that form of literary composition, I suggest that he devote his considerable abilities to writing a letter to God. In such a letter he could point out to God in his temperate and friendly way that there is widespread dissatisfaction among progressive elements everywhere at His management of

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the cosmic process. Many thoughtful persons feel, he might remind God, that there are a number of intolerable conditions and shocking anomalies in the Divine Order of things that should be remedied as soon as possible. For instance, must it always be that the lion shall prey upon the lamb? Could not the lion be induced to acquire herbivorous tastes and to modify his ferociousness, or could not the lamb be equipped with sharp claws and teeth and a less lamblike nature so that he could more adequately protect himself from the lion?

Mr. Bliven might also inform God that there have been many complaints about Divine Justice, and not without reason, regrettable as it may be to be forced to admit it. Many have felt that Divine Justice is erratic and arbitrary in its results, and in its methods altogether too obscure and confusing. He could recommend that God introduce in future divine trials the juridical methods of the Anglo-Saxon or the Roman law, and that He see that as much evidence as possible is introduced in order that skeptics will have no grounds for questioning the infallibility of His justice. . . .

I look forward to reading Mr. Bliven's letter to God in an early issue of The New Republic.

New York City JEROME CAMPBELL

A Spanish Appeal to Progressives

SIR: Women are digging trenches on the roads to Barcelona, defiant in their determination to halt the Fascist advance, and their sisters in the United States are equally unresigned.

It was the recent march of 3,000 Spanish-American women to the Capitol, asking the President to lift the arms embargo that revealed an element in American help to Spain that has hitherto gone unobserved. The cavalcade to Washington was organized by the United Spanish Women's Committees, comprising the societies of Spanish-American women of every political faith, with a membership of over 20,000. . . . Great sacrifices were involved. Most of these women are working people: dressmakers and domestic servants, some leaving their children unattended, others forfeiting their jobs, enduring the unusual hardships and expense of a sleepless trip by coach, and a day-long marching without complaint. . . .

They stood weeping on the Capitol steps as Congressman Bernard of Minnesota pledged support of their demand for "justice and arms to Spain." After a cordial reception by McIntyre, the President's secretary, delegations visited the State Department officials as well as Senator McReynolds, of the House Foreign Affairs Committee. . . .

This demonstration by the Spanish-American women has created a most profound impression in the Spanish colony. The Spanish-American colony is a fragment of American public opinion naturally most sensitive to the tragic events in Spain. But this is an issue that must strike a responsive chord in every American mother. . . . Help for the Loyalist government and the Spanish people in whose name it speaks is the cardinal responsibility of every progressive citizen in the United States.

ERNESTINA GONZALES FLEISHMAN, Secretary,

New York City Comites Femeninos Unidos

From The New Republic Mail Bag

Karl Karsian of Ann Arbor, Michigan, expresses several points of difference with the editorial "Trouble in the TVA," in the March 16 issue. He objects to the statement that the Federal Trade Commission is a competent and informed body, and says our policy itself, as well as the acts under it, needs investigation. . . . William R. Peterson of Moraga, California, feels that the editorial "Dr. Morgan Should Resign" (March 23) completely missed the point at issue, which was "whether or not the President has the authority to remove him." . . . Harry Vosburgh of Newark, New Jersey, complains of our use of the word "inquiry" to describe the President's interrogation of the TVA's directors.

C. E. Payne objects to our statement that Victor A. Meyers, the CIO's defeated candidate in the Seattle elections, was hardly an inspiring candidate (March 25): "He has the faculty of seeing the humorous side of things, but when there is work to be done he is one of the best in the state." . . . Kenneth Diamond of New York City writes that Edmund Wilson's "obsessions about the Soviet Union do not make good reading matter in a progressive publication." . . . Max Birnbaum of Madison, Wisconsin, sends us a long letter challenging statements made by Louis Hacker in his review of Marx and Engels' "The Civil War in the United States" (March 9). Mr. Birnbaum denies that the workers opposed the war at the beginning, *gave it sullen support throughout and rejected its purposes.*

La Rue McCormick of the Southern California District of the International Labor Defense, 127 South Broadway, Los Angeles, sends us a description of the anti-union terror which has long reigned in Yuma, Arizona. He hopes New Republic readers will protest against the unjust incarceration of Enrique Maraz, who has been held incommunicado in a Yuma jail on a trumped-up charge of "disturbing the peace."

George Beiswanger of Monticello College, Godfrey, Illinois, sends us an interesting letter on the spirit behind the May bill. He emphasizes the fact that when the bill was first presented to the Committee on Military Affairs, it stated that its provisions were to go into effect whenever Congress saw fit to declare a state of war or *a state of national emergency*. He feels sure the central purpose of the measure is "streamlined vigilantism." . . . Charles Neider of New York City, former editor of The City College Monthly, writes of the banning of that magazine by Dean Justin H. Moore from the School of Business and Civic Administration. His action, Mr. Neider reports, was entirely outside of the power granted him by the by-laws of the Board of Higher Education.

What's on the Air?

Representative William Lemke of North Dakota and David Cushman Coyle discuss "Taxes or Bonds?" Saturday, April 16, 5 P.M., CBS.

Samuel King, congressional delegate from Hawaii, talks on "Economic and Defense Problems of United States Possessions," Saturday, April 16, 10:45 P.M., CBS.

Senator Rush Holt of West Virginia speaks on "Government-Inspired Propaganda," Monday, April 18, 9:45 P.M., NBC-Blue Network.

Herbert Morrison, outstanding leader of England's Labor Party, discusses "The Labor Party in England and America," Tuesday, April 19, 6:15 P.M., NBC-Blue Network.

Louis Hacker and B. Charney Vladeck speak on "The Defense of Democracy," Saturday, April 23, NBC-Red Network.

Musical and dramatic programs of the week include the Metropolitan Opera Company broadcast of "Tristan and Isolde," Saturday, April 16, 1:40 P.M., NBC-Blue Network; Artur Rodzinski conducting the NBC Symphony Orchestra, Saturday, April 16, 10 P.M., NBC-Red Network; Richard Bonelli, guest artist with the Philharmonic-Symphony Society of New York, Sunday, April 17, 3 P.M., CBS; Alfred Wallenstein's Sinfonietta, Thursday, April 21, 8 P.M., Mutual; Radio Guild dramatization of "Julius Caesar," Friday, April 22, 3 P.M., NBC-Blue Network; and Fritz Mahler, guest conductor with the Bamberger Symphony Orchestra, Friday, April 22, 10 P.M., Mutual.

All times given are Eastern Standard Time.

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Books in Review

Heavenly City

WHEN I SAY that Lewis Mumford is a utopian, I don't mean the word as an insult or even a mild condemnation. There are altogether too many utopians of the type that rejects every practical attempt to improve the world on the ground that it is tainted with worldliness. They want to start with utopia instead of ending there: that explains their confusion of ends and means. But there are never enough utopians of the other type that projects an ideal society as a goal and inspiration for the society that exists. Today when our struggles are not only bitter but often blind, there is a special need for people who can see beyond them. As Mumford says in his new book,[1] "The rational definition of the ideal framework . . . is an important element in changing the direction of the blind process, and in hastening the necessary social adaptations. . . . If society is paralyzed today it is not for lack of means but for lack of purpose."

"The Culture of Cities" is an attempt to define this goal and purpose by picturing a Republic like Plato's or a Heavenly City like that of the eighteenth-century philosophers. It is a logical development out of Mumford's first book, published in 1922, "The Story of Utopias." Since then he has written so much on so many apparently unrelated subjects—architecture, painting, city planning, belles lettres, cultural history and industrial history—that he has seemed to be dispersing his talents. But his new book makes it clear that all his studies have had a single focus. All of them have furnished material bearing on Mumford's conception of the city, "the point of maximum concentration for the power and culture of a community." The central task he has set himself is to describe the cities of the past and present as a basis for planning the cities of tomorrow.

His book is divided into seven long chapters. The first three are historical: they describe the growth and decay of the medieval towns, the pomp of capital cities in the baroque era, and the ugly urban chaos that developed under industrialism. All of them, especially the first, are written with great feeling and erudition. The fourth chapter, "Rise and Fall of Megalopolis," is an unmeasured denunciation of our modern world cities. Mumford believes that they are certain to decay, partly through falling birth rates, partly through their vulnerability in wartime, partly through congestion and the growth of overhead costs: megalopolis will become necropolis, the dead city of the dead. In the last three chapters he tries to define the healthy tendencies in our present civilization (especially the growth of regional cultures) and to picture the "biotechnic cities" of the future, which will be planned to live in, not to make money out of. The fine illustrations—thirty-two solid pages of them—are printed with notes that give the story of the book in brief.

[1] The Culture of Cities, by Lewis Mumford. New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company. 598 pages. $5.

It might be objected that Mumford doesn't tell us the road from A to B, from the dying metropolis of Chapter IV to the radiant new cities of Chapter VII. Apparently he wants to avoid political quarrels, most of which are concerned with tactics and leadership—precisely the subjects he omits. "What do we want?" is the question he tries to answer, rather than "How are we going to get it?" His vagueness seems to be part of a predetermined plan. But the book has other faults that are harder to defend, even though they come nowhere near to outweighing its virtues.

Mumford is entirely too fond of fancy words with Greek or Latin roots. Sordor, geotect, resorption, sessile, vermicular, encystment, plexus, nexus, locus, polynucleated, perduring, depauperated: the effect of words like these is to distract attention from the subject under discussion and to center it on the style. Mumford hates a heavily ornamented façade in architecture; why does he tolerate it in his own prose? But there is more involved than a mere question of ornament. Savages believe in the magical properties of words; they think that enemies can be slain and cattle and wives made fruitful by finding the proper incantations. There is a vestige of this belief in every writer, I suppose, but in Mumford there is more than a vestige. When he dislikes some feature of our civilization—for example, trailer camps—he slays it with epithets hurled like thunderbolts. "Mechanical escapism, as embodied in the trailer and the trailer camp, is one of those ludicrous examples of ideological miscegenation of which the modern world is full: the neurotic offspring of romanticism and mechanism." But people will go on riding in trailers for all of Mumford. Ideological miscegenation is often good fun.

And this suggests another criticism. For a man writing about urban life, Mumford has a little too much aloofness and abstractness, a little too much of the monastic temper. One suspects that the people living in his biotechnic cities would be terribly nice people—generous, bookish, even-tempered, given to simple pleasures like having babies and playing Bach. They would never get drunk and rowdy, never go to Coney Island (ah, for its tawdry glitter!) and never dance to Benny Goodman's orchestra till the sweat ran down their faces and the shirts stuck to their backs. I'd like them better with a few more vices and a neurosis or two.

Yet after giving voice to this complaint from the old Adam, I also want to say that Mumford's utopia seems more inhabitable—I think that's the word—than any of the others that philosophers have been building since time out of mind. There isn't much space to describe it here. Briefly, Mumford imagines a world divided into self-sustaining regions, which in turn would be divided into cities with not more than fifty thousand inhabitants. The few metropolitan centers that survived would be "polynucleated"—that is, composed of smaller self-governing units each grouped around its own industries and separated from the others by fields and parkways. There would be no subways

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or elevated highways or any need for them. There would be no monumental structures. No child would have to cross an automobile road on his way to school. The houses, opening on courts or gardens, would be shallow buildings well insulated on the north, with banks of windows on the south; the partitions would be soundproof. Everything would be designed for life, and "One uses the word life in no vague sense," as Mumford says. "One means the birth and nurture of children, the preservation of human health and well-being, the culture of the human personality, and the perfection of the natural and civic environment as the theatre of all these activities."

Meanwhile Lewis Mumford and all the rest of us have to live in the life-denying cities that exist, or else escape into the countryside. There is irony in the fact that the author of this glowing work on urbanism, which will help to model the cities of the future, lives and writes in the northeastern part of Dutchess County, fifty miles from any city, in a cluster of a dozen old-fashioned frame houses along a macadam road that softens into mud as it crosses the Connecticut state line. MALCOLM COWLEY

Vinegar Tree

Tom Watson: Agrarian Rebel, by C. Vann Woodward. New York: The Macmillan Company. 530 pages. $3.75.

OF ALL THE WASTES that have hampered and handicapped the South, none is more tragic than the waste of her popular leaders. Tillman, "Pitchfork Ben" of South Carolina, alone among them achieved a reasonably fruitful and entirely sane career; and Tillman ended as a pillar of conservatism. But Blease of South Carolina, Watson of Georgia, Heflin of Alabama and Long of Louisiana, all have drifted, or been driven, into fantastic excesses that have obscured their sound and frequently impressive services to the masses. All of these were men of extraordinary power and each of them, at some time in his career, has been a liberal of great promise.

Mr. Woodward's biography of Watson is excellent as a biography, but its true importance is as a case history of a Southern liberal. Read what happened to Watson and you will have a much clearer understanding of why Southern liberalism has produced, not statesmen, but freaks. Thomas E. Watson—or E. Thomas Watson, as he began life, for he transposed his given names to conform to the initials of an early inamorata—was originally a brilliant, eloquent and apparently completely honest champion of the tenant farmers of Georgia. His once affluent family had been reduced to grinding poverty during his boyhood, and he fought his way up from the plow-handles.

An astute ruling class would have recognized this man's quality and would have taken measures to absorb him, as the British aristocracy has absorbed nearly every powerful man of the people. But the Bourbon Democrats of Georgia were not astute. Their only method of dealing with such a man was to club him to his knees. They did it in the case of Watson, but at the price of turning him into an anarch whose frenzies swept Georgia back almost into the jungle. If Watson had been a great man he could not have been maddened by frustration; but he wasn't great, he was merely talented, and the battering he received made him the crazy Jew-baiter, Negro-baiter and Catholic-baiter who was the spiritual father of the Ku Klux Klan.

Mr. Woodward is an admirable biographer. While he does full justice to Watson's early career, he neither excuses nor palliates the dreadful last twenty years of his life, when he was attacking the Catholic Church with almost incredible scurrility, disgracing Georgia in the hideous Frank case and inciting the scum of the white population to pogroms against the Negroes. He declares flatly that Watson, toward the end, took to drugs and drink; and he deals realistically with his most sordid adventures. But this objectivity simply heightens the impression of a splendid talent gone to waste.

If the biographer departs from fairness, it is not toward Watson, but toward the early Southern leaders of the Henry Grady-Walter H. Page type. Perhaps these men, in their enthusiasm for economic reconstruction, did hand over the South to exploiters, such as the Dukes, the Reynolds, the Cannons and the Candlers; but after all, there is something to be said for economic reconstruction. If the factory-builders merely substituted peonage for chattel slavery, at least they drew the South appreciably farther away from downright cannibalism than it was in the early nineties. On the whole, though, the book deserves rating as a sincere and remarkably successful effort to make comprehensible one specimen of a complex and bewildering type. GERALD W. JOHNSON

Sahara of Musicians

Concert Pitch, by Elliot Paul. New York: Random House. $2.50.

TO THE SOCIETY in which Lucien Piot, Parisian music critic, moved, "an awareness of the present was like a whiff of lethal gas." Mr. Paul describes this society, and the whiffs that eventually destroy it, in a bitter brilliant novel. Here is a Sahara of post-war musicians, failing to find in their art either weapon or escape, feverishly struggling either to defend it against social change or make it serve a revolutionary purpose. Hallowell, the hero, has published an article declaring that the piano and its literature have become obsolete, and through this statement, only one of the many fears now besetting musicians, he draws into his life a train of complications.

Hallowell is a man of forty, disillusioned, desperately in need of a reason for living, and this he finds in Elizabeth Maura. Their relationship hinges on the launching of her gifted son Robert by the powerful Piot, whose motives appear solely musical only to the pianist and his mother. Robert's progress through the traditional concert props of patronage, social and critical pampering, runs parallel to the weedlike growth of the grimy young composer, Gurevitsch. Gurevitsch makes his music out of static, flourishes with or without outside help, and is the one character in the book to survive the ivory-tower bombardment.

It is unfortunate that the honest, heart-breaking efforts of creative or interpretative musicians to adjust their talents to modern needs are not considered so important as the same problem in other fields. Therefore "Concert Pitch" may disappoint readers who insist that their fiction stem from current headlines. The writing is as richly satisfying

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as it was in "The Life and Death of a Spanish Town," the wit is profound, and the clear pleasure in music is contagious. It is quite true, as the publishers point out, that there is in the Piot-Hallowell-Maura pattern a definite Henry James quality. Hallowell suggests the bumbling "I" of "The Sacred Fount," a cloaked, portentous figure, a dignified mischief-maker, inciting everyone to cross-purposes to serve his own ends. Elizabeth Maura, too, is very like May Server, a fragile radiant darling, fascinating as a gelatin pad on which lovers eagerly try to decipher memos from their predecessors. Mr. Paul's women, Adeline Piot, Mrs. Maura, Madame Berthe and Mrs. Barnes, are like the James women, deferential and gracious complements to the sturdier sex and certainly a lesson to the rest of us.

DAWN POWELL

Physics for the Tough-Minded

The Evolution of Physics, by Albert Einstein and Leopold Infeld. New York: Simon and Schuster. 329 pages. $2.50.

THE LONG, HARD ROAD from Galileo's discovery of the principle of inertia to the quanta of Max Planck may be taken as a symbol of man's search for precision in his understanding of the material universe—a search whose every gain in rigor seems only to have prompted a fresh burst of confused idealism until, with Heisenberg's quite unambiguous formulation of the principle of indeterminacy, it became the fashion for many eminent scientists to change places with the mystics: who, in return, were delighted to celebrate the new "dignity" of Science.

The material universe, however, continues to reserve its real beauties for the tough-minded who, if they fail to grasp some particularly abstruse phenomenon, do not immediately take refuge in the subjective and the irrational. These are the ones who will most enjoy the admirably lucid, closely reasoned pages in which—with the help of his able co-worker Leopold Infeld—Professor Einstein traces the rise and development of our physical ideas.

Treating their subject as "the perfect mystery story," the authors begin by looking for the chief clues to its solution. These clues, generalized by experiment and analysis into "laws," then provide a basis for further investigation, each step of which is firmly consolidated on the bedrock of observed phenomena and expressed by clearly defined concepts. An excellent sample of the method is in the treatment of the problem of motion. Aristotle's "intuitive" belief that motion could exist *only* where force was being applied succeeded for two thousand years in confusing two distinct physical facts, and by so doing seriously impeded scientific progress. But when Galileo, reasoning from simple experiment, noted the tendency of all bodies to continue in motion—or at rest—until changed by some external force, he laid the basis for the whole of our Newtonian physics. More than that, he took one of those "initial and fundamental steps" which, as our authors remark, are always of a revolutionary character.

A direct and enormously fruitful consequence of the new ideas of motion was the distinction between speed and velocity, a distinction summarized in the concept of vectors. By making the *direction* in which a force acts a significant element of a given situation, the vector introduced a generalization of great power: one which may well have its application in the social sciences. Consider, for example, how the naïve confusion between fascism and communism on the basis of "force" alone may be resolved by "social vectors" that emphasize the opposed directions of these two political systems.

Our scientists, however, do not indulge in such reflections, preferring to confine themselves to the difficult task of expounding the root ideas of physics. In two long chapters we are guided through the labyrinth of such concepts as mass, heat, energy, molecular and atomic theory, the ether, and those simpler electrical phenomena which were to undermine the classical mechanics and set the stage for the new mathematical techniques so brilliantly introduced by Clerk Maxwell. Maxwell's fertile conception of the "material system," supported by a constantly widening knowledge of the role of energy, leads us to the supreme contributions of Einstein, the general and special theories of Relativity. More than half of the book is devoted to this subject, and to the quantum theory by which Max Planck destroyed, once and for all, the uncritical view that the universe is a smooth, majestic continuum. Two realities are all that we now possess: matter, which represents mass; and the Field, which represents energy.

Professor Einstein and his colleague have written an admirable and important book on some of the knottiest problems ever attacked by the human mind. That their philosophy is sometimes unequal to the task of dynamic interpretation may be forgiven them by virtue of their high integrity as scientists.

HAROLD WARD

Yeats's Vision

A Vision, by W. B. Yeats. New York: The Macmillan Company. 312 pages. $3.

THE FIRST EDITION of "A Vision," which was privately printed in 1925, has already been discussed in The New Republic. This book is the exposition of a system, rather mystical and astrological than philosophical, which, though it has provided some of the imagery of Yeats's poems, and contains passages of beautiful writing not without psychological and historical insight, will be of relatively little interest to anybody but spiritualists and theosophists. Yeats has written a new introduction in a vein of playful fantasy rather unlike anything else he has done and reminiscent of Stevenson's "New Arabian Nights." He seems today to be a little apprehensive lest he be thought to take his "vision" too literally. His historical periods, he says, he regards as "stylistic arrangements of experience comparable to the cubes in the drawing of Wyndham Lewis and to the ovoids in the sculpture of Brancusi." In a note at the end, he seems troubled by "socialistic" and "communistic prophecies," which he tends to think may have something in them but which he has difficulty in accommodating to his system. The volume also includes "A Packet for Ezra Pound," now first printed in a commercial edition, which throws some light on Pound's design in his "Cantos" and tells how Yeats's own conceptions were conveyed to him through the automatic writing of his wife.

EDMUND WILSON

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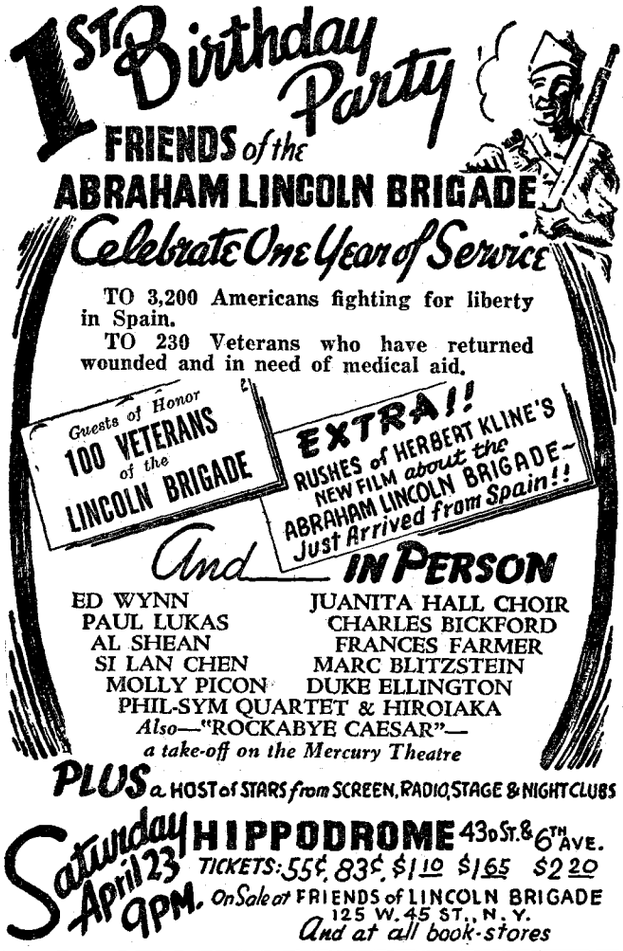

FOUR FRENCH NOVELISTS

MARCEL PROUST - ANDRÉ GUIDE - JEAN GIRAUDOUX - PAUL MORAND

By Georges Lemaitre

For readers seeking an understanding of France and the position of her writers over the last twenty years this book gives not only an illuminating critical review of the works of four outstanding contemporaries—Marcel Proust, André Gide, Jean Giraudoux (author of Amphitryon 38) and Paul Morand—but relates each writer's position and significance to his life and environment.

M. Lemaitre is a critic of ability who leads his readers to new highs of enthusiasm for the new French literature, and he has made use of a great deal of new information. $3.50

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Sociologically Speaking

We Americans, by Elin L. Anderson. Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 300 pages. $3.

THIS REMARKABLE BOOK, which recently won the John Anisfield prize as a notable contribution in the field of racial relationships, is a study of community problems in the city of Burlington, Vermont. Burlington is a city of 25,000 people, a tight little Yankee commercial capital with few industries and apparently little commercial unrest. But as E. C. Lindeman observes in the preface, "the promise of American democracy is resident in the life of [such] communities"; and he might well have added that the threat to American democracy is also resident there. It is the greatest merit of Miss Anderson's book that it reveals both the promise and the threat with startling clarity.

Not that this revelation is made at all noisily. "We Americans" is a sober factual study of group relationships from a racial (or ethnic) point of view; not one phrase is hazarded without ample documentation; the calm judicial tone of a friendly but unbiased observer is maintained throughout. But from this cool description of a ruling group of Old Americans (Yankee Protestants); a small and precariously prosperous community of Jews; and a large population of Catholic Irish and French-Canadians, emerges a picture of antagonisms and castes not primarily racial or religious at all, although race and religion help to enforce more basic divisions. A really brilliant account of the way social groups carry religious and cultural traditions as accordant functions in a broader class conflict, "We Americans" is required reading for the serious student of contemporary problems.

REBECCA PITTS

Limits of Land Settlement: A Report on Present-Day Possibilities, edited by Isaiah Bowman. New York: Council on Foreign Relations. 387 pages, maps. $3.50.

FORTY-FIVE percent of the land area of the world, according to our present knowledge of climatic conditions and technical possibilities, is either too hot or too cold to permit extensive human development. Such is the conclusion of an analysis by Carl L. Alsberg, whose study of Food Supply is one of the contributions to this very significant volume. Ten specialists undertake to answer the question: Where, and to what extent, can human population increase with a reasonable chance of economic success? Seven great regions are surveyed with particular reference to agricultural possibilities, internal capacity for expansion and prevailing political trends in the dominant countries. Canada, Soviet Siberia, China, Japan, Africa, Australia and South America go on the dissecting table, with results that must sober the most confirmed colonial enthusiast. Particularly striking is the picture of the intensive Soviet development of Siberia, written by Bruce Hopper, contrasted with Karl J. Pelzer's point-by-point exposé of Japan's dream of empire. The study of Australia, by Griffith Taylor, is a model of shrewd, well documented and ably presented exposition of the innumerable factors—natural, industrial, ethnic, economic and political—that go to the making, or breaking, of a vast territory where, in 1935, 124 settlers were miserably established on poor farms at a cost of $42,000 each.

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It is true that, as Isaiah Bowman points out in his summary, "the earth's tolerance has been vastly widened by modern science." But this tolerance is so hamstrung by political, economic and technical problems that its theoretical possibilities—as shown by our ten specialists—must long remain theory. "In our present nationalized world," Dr. Bowman warns us, "no discernible or predictable stream of migration can keep pace with the birth rate of conspicuously overcrowded countries." H. W.

Our California State Taxes, by H. Dewey Anderson. Stanford University Press. 313 pages. $2.75.

MANY are interested in the tax problem, not in general, but in specific. That is, they want to know how to finance the budget or some additional outlay in this or that city or state. They want to know how the income tax or the sales tax would, or does, affect them. Professor Anderson's book is one of the few designed to meet their need. It is addressed to California citizens who desire information concerning the tax system in California, and is supplemented with an outline of study courses for adult clubs. The book gives no adequate consideration to the property tax, thereby limiting the scope of treatment. But in geneeral it is a good statement of the liberal point of view concerning the state's taxes. It approves the principle of ability to pay in taxation and deplores the taxation of the necessities of life under the sales tax. H. M. G.

Passaic River Stories

Life Along the Passaic River, by William Carlos Williams. Norfolk, Conn.: New Directions. 201 pages. $1.75.

THESE NINETEEN TALES have to do chiefly with the plain (if sometimes violent) people that Williams, as a medico, meets day after day—Polacks whom transplantation has "mixed up and stunned"; an Italian peasant woman bringing her ninth child into the world; a Negro woman of uncorrupted instinct; Jews; Russians; nurses; babies; an old man, penniless, living in the woods, who has achieved what power and place cannot give, great human dignity and worth ("Under the Greenwood Tree").

Character is the thing Williams looks for—and finds more often than not—in these mongrel isolated Americans along the Passaic. *They* represent the America of his dogged belief, which has no truck with defeatism, morbidity, cynical anemia, bigoted partisanship or any of the other easy sentimental "outs." His social awareness has grown considerably since 1932, when he published his first collection of short stories, "The Knife of the Times." Nor has its growth hampered his artistry—"The Greenwood Tree" is among the most esthetically gratifying pieces he has done; so are "A Night in June" and "The Dawn of Another Day." Every suggestion of the preciousness that, here and there, tinged "A Voyage to Pagany" (1928) is absent. And by now even blind men and professional critics can see that Williams has triumphantly solved, in the downright classical clarity of his prose, the problem of harmonizing style and realism. He has shown again that the more truly localized the art, the more it is universal. FRED R. MILLER

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New Books: A Reader's List

THE MEMOIRS OF JULIAN HAWTHORNE, edited by his wife, Edith Garrigues Hawthorne (Macmillan, $2.50). Recommended for the shelves of ladies' literary clubs. A desultory and journalistic account of the author's relations with Emerson, Thoreau, Holmes, Lowell, the Jameses, the Alcotts and other greats, including of course his father.

WRITING AS A CAREER, by Thomas H. Uzzell (Harcourt, Brace, $2). Sound advice to fledgling writers by an author whose recipe for success includes a decent I.Q., reasonable sophistication and, most important, the familiar ability to apply the seat of your pants to the seat of your chair. Plus a brief analysis of opportunities in the writing market.

THE DARK COMMAND, by W. R. Burnett (Knopf, $2.50.) Civil war (lower case) between guerillas and settlers and (upper case) between North and South in Kansas, by an author whose command of the mid-century, mid-American background is utterly convincing. But the love story—a simple triangle—isn't one of Burnett's best.

ON SARPY CREEK, by Ira Stephens Nelson (Little, Brown, $2.50). A novel of homespun folk skimping a livelihood out of the hills of Montana. Written with a quiet, unaffected simplicity, well suited to characters whose fortunes vary with the weather and whose emotions are as artless as their daily chores on the farm.

THESE BARS OF FLESH, by T. S. Stribling (Doubleday, Doran, $2.50). The Stribling locale shifted to a Northern university; satire on adolescent radicalism, legislative wire-pulling, high-power publicity and the gullibility of the public. A crowded, strenuous novel, occasionally heavy-footed.

THE DAY'S WORK, by Oscar Brynes (Harcourt, Brace, $1.25). A narrative poem on the Great Armored Car Robbery (the nervy hoods who pulled it bagged a half-million, if you recall). American speech rhythms and, particularly in Section II, American underworld argot, are beautifully used. The perfect antidote for the poison of precious poesy.

MEMORY OF YOUTH, by Vilhelm Moberg (Simon and Schuster, $2.50). First volume of a trilogy whose hero is divided between the rugged simplicity of the farm and the intellectual lures of the city. A portfolio of snapshots of a Swedish village, sensitive, earthy, nicely tinted with local color.

IT'S PERFECTLY TRUE and Other Stories, by Hans Christian Andersen, translated by Paul Leyssac (Harcourt, Brace, $2.50). Still another version of the world's best loved fairy tales, this time by a translator who, besides being Danish himself, has managed to retain the simplicity, the charm and the delicate irony that are Andersen. Illustrated by Richard Bennett.

Contributors

FREDERICK L. SCHUMAN, professor of Political Science at Williams College, is the author of "War and Diplomacy in the French Republic," "The Nazi Dictatorship," "Germany Since 1918" and "International Politics."

MARGARET SANGER, known all over the world as the leader of the birth-control movement, is the author of many books on the subject, including "Motherhood in Bondage" and "My Fight for Birth Control."

GERALD W. JOHNSON has been an editorial writer on The Baltimore Evening Sun since 1926. He has written biographies of Andrew Jackson and John Randolph and is the author of "A Little Night-Music," published last year by Harpers.

DAWN POWELL, novelist and playwright, author, among other books, of "Turn, Magic Wheel," lives in New York City.

HAROLD WARD's special interest is in the social implications of science and technology. He is a contributing editor of China Today.

EDMUND WILSON's latest book, "The Triple Thinkers," a collection of critical essays, has recently been published by Harcourt, Brace.

REBECCA PITTS has contributed to numerous periodicals and is at present working on a book of critical studies.

HAROLD M. GROVES, former member of the Wisconsin Legislature and of the Wisconsin Tax Commission, is professor of Public Finance at the University of Wisconsin.

FRED R. MILLER, erstwhile short-story writer and editor of Blast, is now working as a draughtsman in New York City.

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